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MESSAGE

FROM

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

AT THE

COMMENCEMENT OF THE SECOND SESSION

OF

THE FIFTEENTH CONGRESS.

U. S. President.

NOVEMBER 17, 1818.

Read, and committed to a committee of the whole House, on the state of the Union.

WASHINGTON:

PRINTED BY E. DE KRAFFT.

1818.

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MESSAGE.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate
and of the House of Representatives.

The auspicious circumstances under which you will commence the duties of the present session, will lighten the burden inseparable from the high trust committed to you. The fruits of the earth have been unusually abundant: commerce has flourished; the revenue has exceeded the most favorable anticipation, and peace and amity are preserved with foreign nations, on conditions just and honorable to our country. For these inestimable blessings, we cannot but be grateful to that Providence which watches over the destinies of nations.

As the term limited for the operation of the commercial convention with Great Britain will expire early in the month of July next, and it was deemed important that there should be no interval, during which that portion of our commerce, which was provided for by that convention, should not be regulated, either by arrrangement between the two governments, or by the authority of Congress, the minister of the U. S. at London was instucted, early in the last summer, to invite the attention of the British government to the subject, with a view to that object. He was instructed to propose, also, that the negotiation which it was wished to open, might extend to the general commerce of the two countries, and to every other interest and unsettled difference between them; particularly those relating to impressment, the fisheries, and boundaries, in the hope that an arrangement might be made, on principles of reciprocal advantage, which might comprehend, and provide, in a satisfactory manner, for all these high concerns. I have the satisfaction to state, that the proposal was received by the British government in the spirit which prompted it, and that a negotiation has been opened at London, embracing all these objects. On full consideration of the great extent and magnitude of the trust, it was thought proper to commit it to not less than two of our distinguished citizens, and, in consequence, the envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States at Paris, has been associated with our envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at London; to both of whom corresponding instructions have been given; and they are now engaged in the discharge of its duties. It is proper to add, that, to prevent any inconvenience resulting from the delay incident to a negotiation on so many important subjects, it was agreed, before entering on it, that the existing convention should be continued for a term not less than eight years.

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Our relations with Spain remain nearly in the state in which they were at the close of the last session. The convention of 1802, providing for the adjustment of a certain portion of the claims of our citizens for injuries sustained by spoliation, and so long suspended by the Spanish government, has at length been ratified by it; but no arrangement has yet been made for the payment of another portion of like claims, not less extensive or well founded, or for other classes of claims, or for the settlement of boundaries. These subjects have again been brought under consideration in both countries, but no agreement has been entered into respecting them. In the mean time, events have occurred, which clearly prove the ill effect of the policy which that government has so long pursued, on the friendly relations of the two countries, which, it is presumed, it is at least of as much importance to Spain, as to the United States, to maintain. A state of things has existed in the Floridas, the tendency of which has been obvious to all who have paid the slightest attention to the progress of affairs in that quarter. Throughout the whole of those provinces to which the Spanish title extends, the government of Spain has scarcely been felt. Its authority has been confined almost exclusively to the walls of Pensacola and St. Augustine, within which only small garrisons have been maintained. Adventures from every country, fugitives from justice, and absconding slaves have found an asylum there. Several tribes of Indians, strong in the number of their warriors, remarkable for their ferocity, and whose settlements extend to our limits, inhabit those provinces. These different hordes of people, connected together, disregarding, on the one side, the authority of Spain, and protected, on the other, by an imaginary line, which separates Florida from the United States, have violated our laws prohibiting the introduction of slaves, have practised various frauds on our revenue, and committed every kind of outrage on our peaceable citizens, which their proximity to us enabled them to perpetrate. The invasion of Amelia Island, last year, by a small band of adventurers, not exceeding one hundred and fifty in number, who wrested it from the inconsiderable Spanish force stationed there and held it several months, during which, a single feeble effort only was made to recover it, which failed, clearly proves how completely extinct the Spanish authority had become; as the conduct of those adventurers, while in possession of the island, as distinctly shows the pernicious purposes for which their combination had been formed.

This country had, in fact, become the theatre of every species of lawless adventure. With little population of its own, the Spanish authority almost extinct, and the colonial govenments in a state of revolution, having no pretention to it, and sufficiently employed in their own concerns, it was in a great measure derelict, and the object of cupidity, to every adventurer. A system of bucanneering was rapidly organizing over it, which menaced, in its consequences,

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the lawful commerce of every nation, and particularly of the United States; while it presented a temptation to every people, on whose seduction its success principally depended. In regard to the United States, the pernicious effect of this unlawful combination, was not confined to the ocean. The Indian tribes have constituted the effective force in Florida. With these tribes, these adventurers had formed, at an early period, a connection, with a view to avail themselves of that force, to promote their own projects of accumulation and aggrandizement. It is to the interference of some of these adventurers, in misrepresenting the claims and titles of the Indians to land, and in practicing on their savage propensities, that the Seminole war is principally to be traced. Men who thus connect themselves with savage communities, and stimulate them to war, which is always attended, on their part, with acts of barbarity the most shocking, deserve to be viewed in a worse light than the savages. They would certainly have no claim to an immunity from the punishment, which, according to the rules of warfare practised by the savages, might justly be inflicted on the savages, themselves.

If the embarrassments of Spain prevented her from making an indemnity to our citizens, for so long a time, from her treasury, for their losses by spoilation, and otherwise, it was always in her power to have provided it, by the cession of this territory. Of this, her government has been repeatedly apprized, and the cession was the more to have been anticipated, as Spain must have known that, in ceding it, she would, in effect, cede what had become of little value to her, and would likewise relieve herself from the important obligation secured by the treaty of 1795, and all other compromitments respecting it. If the United States, from consideration of these embarresments, declined pressing their claims in a spirit of hostility, the motive ought, at least, to have been duly appreciated by the government of Spain. It is well known to her government that other powers have made to the United States an indeminity for like losses, sustained by their citizens at the same epoch.

There is, nevertheless, a limit, beyond which this spirit of amity and forbearance can, in no instance be justified. If it was proper to rely on amicable negotiation for an indemnity for losses, it would not have been so to have permitted the inability of Spain to fulfil her engagements, and to sustain her authority in the Floridas, to be perverted, by foreign adventurers and savages, to purposes so destructive to the lives of our fellow-citizens, and the highest interests of the United States. The right of self-defence never ceases. It is among the most sacred and alike necessary to nations and to individuals. And, whether the attack be made by Spain herself, or by those who abuse her power, its obligation is not the less strong. The invaders of Amelia Island had assumed a popular and respected title, under which they might approach and wound us. As their object was distinctly seen, and the duty imposed on the executive,

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by an existing law, was profoundly felt, that mask was not permitted to protect them. It was thought incumbent on the United States to suppress the establishment, and it was accordingly done. The combination in Florida, for the unlawful purposes stated, the acts perpetrated by that combination, and, above all, the incitement of the Indians, to massacre our fellow-citizens, of every age, and of both sexes, merited a like treatment, and received it. In pursuing these savages to an imaginary line, in the woods, it would have been the height of folly to have suffered that line to protect them. Had that been done, the war could never cease. Even if the territory had been, exclusively, that of Spain, and her power complete over it, we had a right, by the law of nations, to follow the enemy on it, and to subdue him there. But, the territory belonged, in a certain sense, at least, to the savage enemy who inhabited it; the power of Spain had ceased to exist over it, and protection was sought, under her title, by those who had committed on our citizens, hostilities which she was bound by treaty to have prevented, but had not the power to prevent. To have stopped at that line, would have given new encouragement to these savages, and new vigor to the whole combination existing there, in the prosecution of all its pernicious purposes.

In suppressing the establishment at Amelia Island, no unfriendliness was manifested towards Spain, because the post was taken from a force which had wrested it from her. The measure, it is true, was not adopted in concert with the Spanish government, or those in authority under it; because, in transactions connected with the war in which Spain and the colonies are engaged, it was thought proper, in doing justice to the United States, to maintain a strict impartiality towards both the belligerent parties, without consulting or acting in concert with either. It gives me pleasure to state, that the governments of Buenos Ayres and Venezuela, whose names were assumed, have explicitly disclaimed all participation in those measures, and even the knowledge of them, until communicated by this government, and have also expressed their satisfaction that a course of proceedings had been suppressed, which, if justly imputable to them, would dishonor their cause.

In authorizing major general Jackson to enter Florida, in pursuit of the Seminoles, care was taken, not to encroach on the rights of Spain. I regret to have to add, that, in executing this order, facts were disclosed, respecting the conduct of the officers of Spain, in authority there, in encouraging the war, furnishing munitions of war, and other supplies, to carry it on, and in other acts, not less marked, which evinced their participation in the hostile purposes of that combination, and justified the confidence, with which it inspired the savages, that, by those officers they would be protected. A conduct so incompatible with the friendly relations existing between the two countries, particularly with the positive

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obligation of the 5th article of the treaty of 1795, by which Spain was bound to restrain, even by force, those savages, from acts of hostility against the United States, could not fail to excite surprise. The commanding general was convinced that he should fail in his object, that he should in effect accomplish nothing, if he did not deprive those savages of the resource on which they had calculated, and of the protection on which they had relied in making the war. As all the documents relating to this occurrence will be laid before Congress, it is not necessary to enter into further detail respecting it.

Although the reasons which induced major general Jackson to take these posts were duly appreciated, there was, nevertheless, no hesitation in deciding on the course which it became the government to pursue. As there was reason to believe that the commanders of these posts had violated their instructions, there was no disposition to impute to their government a conduct so unprovoked and hostile. An order was in consequence issued to the general in command there, to deliver the posts; Pensacola, unconditionally, to any person duly authorized to receive it; and St. Marks, which is in the heart of the Indian country, on the arrival of a competent force, to defend it against those savages and their associates.

In entering Florida to suppress this combination, no idea was entertained of hostility to Spain, and, however justifiable the commanding general was, in consequence of the misconduct of the Spanish officers, in entering St. Marks and Pensacola, to terminate it, by proving to the savages and their associates, that they should not be protected, even there; yet the amicable relations, existing between the United States and Spain, could not be altered by that act alone. By ordering the restitution of the posts, those relations were preserved. To a change of them, the power of the executive is deemed incompetent. It is vested in Congress only.

By this measure, so promptly taken, due respect was shown to the government of Spain. The misconduct of her officers has not been imputed to her. She was enabled to review with candor, her relations with the United States, and her own situation, particularly in respect to the territory in question, with the dangers inseparable from it; and, regarding the losses we have sustained, for which indemnity has been so long withheld, and the injuries we have suffered through that territory, and her means of redress, she was likewise enabled to take, with honor, the course best calculated to do justice to the United States, and to promote her own welfare.

Copies of the instructions to the commanding general; of his correspondence with the Secretary of War, explaining his motives, and justifying his conduct, with a copy of the proceedings of the courts martial, in the trial of Arbuthnot and Ambristie; and of the correspondence between the Secretary of State and the minister plenipotentiary of Spain, near this government: and of the minister pleni-

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potentiary of the United States, at Madrid, with the government of Spain, will be laid before Congress.

The civil war, which has so long prevailed between Spain, and the provinces in South America, still continues without any prospect of its speedy termination. The information respecting the condition of those countries, which has been collected by the Commissioners, recently returned from thence, will be laid before Congress, in copies of their reports, with such other information as has been received from other agents of the United States.

It appears, from these communications, that the government of Buenos Ayres declared itself independent in July 1816, having previously exercised the power of an independent government, though in the name of the King of Spain, from the year 1810: that the Banda Oriental, Entre Rios, and Paraguay, with the city of Santa Fee, all of which are also independent, are unconnected with the present government of Buenos Ayres: that Chili has declared itself independent, and is closely connected with Buenos Ayres: that Venezuela has also declared itself independent, and now maintains the conflict with various success; and that the remaining parts of South America, except Monte Video, and such other portions of the Eastern bank of the La Plata as are held by Portugal, are still in the possession of Spain, or, in a certain degree, under her influence.

By a circular note addressed by the ministers of Spain to the allied powers with whom they are respectively accredited, it appears that the allies have undertaken to mediate between Spain and the South American provinces, and that the manner and extent of their interposition would be settled by a Congress, which was to have met at Aix-la-Chapelle in September last. From the general policy and course of proceeding observed by the allied powers in regard to this contest, it is inferred that they will confine their interposition to the expression of their sentiments; abstaining from the application of force. I state this impression, that force will not be applied, with the greater satisfaction, because it is a course more consistent with justice, and likewise authorizes a hope that the calamities of the war will be confined to the parties only, and will be of shorter duration.

From the view taken of this subject, founded on all the information that we have been able to obtain, there is good cause to be satisfied with the course heretofore pursued by the United States, in regard to this contest, and to conclude, that it is proper to adhere to it, especially in the present state of affairs.

I have great satisfaction in stating, that our relations with France, Russia, and other powers, continue on the most friendly basis.

In our domestic concerns we have ample cause of satisfaction. The receipts into the Treasury, during the three first quarters of the year, have exceeded seventeen millions of dollars.

After satisfying all the demands which have been made under

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existing appropriations, including the final extinction of the old six per cent. stock, and the redemption of a moiety of the Louisiana debt, it is estimated that there will remain in the Treasury, on the first day of January next, more than two millions of dollars.

It is ascertained that the gross revenue which has accrued from the customs during the same period amounts to twenty-one millions of dollars, and that the revenue of the whole year may be estimated at not less than twenty-six millions. The sale of the public lands during the year has also greatly exceeded, both in quantity and price, that of any former year; and there is just reason to expect a progressive improvement in that source of revenue.

It is gratifying to know, that, although the annual expenditure has been increased, by the act of the last session of Congress, providing for revolutionary pensions, to an amount about equal to the proceeds of the internal duties, which were then repealed, the revenue for the ensuing year will be proportionably augmented, and that, whilst the puplic expenditure will probably remain stationary, each successive year will add to the national resources, by the ordinary increase of our population, and by the gradual developement of our latent sources of national prosperity.

The strict execution of the revenue laws, resulting principally from the salutary provisions of the act of the 20th of April last, amending the several collection laws, has, it is presumed, secured to domestic manufactures all the relief that can be derived from the duties, which have been imposed upon foreign merchandise, for their protection. Under the influence of this relief, several branches of this important national interest have assumed greater activity, and, although it is hoped that others will gradually revive, and ultimately triumph over every obstacle, yet the expediency of granting further protection is submitted to your consideration.

The measures of defence, authorized by existing laws, have been pursued with the zeal and activity due to so important an object, and with all the despatch practicable in so extensive and great an undertaking. The survey of our maritime and inland frontiers has been continued; and, at the points where it was decided to erect fortifications, the work has been commenced, and, in some instances, considerable progress has been made. In compliance with resolutions of the last session, the board of commissioners were directed to examine in a particular manner the parts of the coast therein designated, and to report their opinion of the most suitable sites for two naval depots. This work is in a train of execution. The opinion of the board on this subject, with a plan of all the works necessary to a general system of defence, so far as it has been formed, will be laid before Congress, in a report from the proper department, as soon as it can be prepared.

In conformity with the appropriations of the last session, treaties have been formed with the Quapaw tribe of Indians, inhabiting

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the country on the Arkansaw, and with the Great and Little Osages north of the White river; with the tribes in the state of Indiana; with the several tribes within the state of Ohio, and the Michigan territory; and with the Chickasaws; by which very extensive cessions of territory have been made to the United States. Negotiations are now depending with the tribes in the Illinois territory, and with the Choctaws, by which it is expected that other extensive cessions will be made. I take great interest in stating that the cessions already made, which are considered so important to the United States, have been obtained on conditions very satisfactory to the Indians.

With a view to the security of our inland frontiers, it has been thought expedient to establish strong posts at the mouth of the Yellow Stone River, and at the Mandan village, on the Missouri; and at the mouth of St. Peters, on the Mississippi, at no great distance from our northern boundaries. It can hardly be presumed, while such posts are maintained in the rear of the Indian tribes, that they will venture to attack our peaceable inhabitants. A strong hope is entertained that this measure will likewise be productive of much good to the tribes themselves; especially in promoting the great object of their civilization. Experience has clearly demonstrated, that independent savage communities cannot long exist within the limits of a civilized population. The progress of the latter has, almost invariably, terminated in the extinction of the former, especially of the tribes belonging to our portion of this hemisphere, among whom, loftiness of sentiment, and gallantry in action, have been conspicuous. To civilize them, and even to prevent their extinction, it seems to be indispensable that their independence, as communities, should cease, and that the control of the United States over them should be complete and undisputed. The hunter state will then be more easily abandoned, and recourse will be had to the acquisition and culture of land, and to other pursuits tending to dissolve the ties which connect them together as a savage community, and to give a new character to every individual. I present this subject to the consideration of Congress, on the presumption that it may be found expedient and practicable to adopt some benevolent provisions, having these objects in view, relative to the tribes within our settlements.

It has been necessary, during the present year, to maintain a strong naval force in the Mediterranean, and in the Gulf of Mexico, and to send some public ships along the Southern coast, and to the Pacific Ocean. By these means, amicable relations with the Barbary powers have been preserved, our commerce has been protected, and our rights respected. The augmentation of our navy is advancing, with a steady progress, towards the limit contemplated by law.

I communicate, with great satisfaction, the accession of another state, Illinois, to our Union; because I perceive, from the proof af-

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forded by the additions already made, the regular progress and sure consummation of a policy, of which history affords no example, and of which the good effect cannot be too highly estimated. By extending our government, on the principles of our constitution over the vast territory within our limits, on the Lakes and the Mississippi, and its numerous streams, new life and vigor are infused into every part of our system. By increasing the number of the states, the confidence of the state governments in their own security is increased, and their jealousy of the national government proportionally diminished. The impracticability of one consolidated government for this great and growing nation will be more apparent, and will be universally admitted. Incapable of exercising local authority, except for general purposes, the general government will no longer be dreaded. In those cases of a local nature, and for all the great purposes for which it was instituted, its authority will be cherished. Each government will acquire new force and a greater freedom of action, within its proper sphere. Other inestimable advantages wil lfollow: our produce will be augmented to an incalculable amount, in articles of the greatest value for domestic use and foreign commerce. Our navigation will, in like degree be increased; and, as the shipping of the Atlantic states will be employed in the transportation of the vast produce of the western country, even those parts of the United States, which are most remote from each other, will be further bound together by the strongest ties which mutual interest can create.

The situation of this District, it is thought, requires the attention of Congress. By the constitution, the power of legislation is exclusively vested in the Congress of the United States. In the exercise of this power, in which the people have no participation, Congress legislate in all cases, directly, on the local concerns of the District. As this is a departure, for a special purpose, from the general principles of our system, it may merit consideration, whether an arrangement better adapted to the principles of our government, and to the particular interests of the people, may not be devised, which will neither infringe the constitution, nor affect the object which the provision in question was intended to secure. The growing population, already considerable, and the increasing business of the District, which it is believed already interferes with the deliberations of Congress on great national concerns, furnish additional motives for recommending this subject to your consideration.

When we view the great blessings with which our country has been favored, those which we now enjoy, and the means which we possess of handing them down, unimpaired, to our latest posterity, our attention is irresistibly drawn to the source from whence they flow. Let us then unite in offering our most grateful acknowledgments for these blessings to the Divine Author of all good.

JAMES MONROE.

November 16th, 1818.

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DOCUMENTS

REFERRED TO IN THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE SECOND SESSION OF THE FIFTEENTH CONGRESS.

Mr. Rodney to the Secretary of State.

Washington, 5th Nov. 1818.

SIR,

I have the honor to present the report herewith enclosed, agreeably to the desire of Mr. Graham, who, on reflection, preferred submitting some additional remarks, in a separate paper. For this purpose, two of the documents referred to in the report, remains in his possession—Dr. Fune's outline of events in the United Provinces, since the revolution, and the manifesto of independence by the Congress at Tucuman.

I have the honor to be,

With great respect

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) C. A. RODNEY.

Hon. John Q. Adams, Secretary of State.

Mr. Rodney to the Secretary of State.

SIR,

I have now the honor to submit to your consideration, my report on the subject of the late mission to South America, embracing the information derived from the various sources within my power, so far as I had an opportunity of improving the advantages possessed.

With the history of the conquest of the Spanish possessions in

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America, you must be familiar. They were principally, if not exclusively, achieved by private adventurers. When completed, a most oppressive system of government, or rather despotism, was established by the parent country.

These extensive regions, were originally, swayed by two vice-roys. The dominions of Spain in North America, were under the government of the vice roy of Mexico, and all her possessions in South America, were to the control of the vice roy of Peru.

The remoteness of some parts of the country from the residence of the vice roy at Lima, occasioned, in 1718, the establishment of another vice royalty at Santa Fee de Bogota, in the kingdom of New Grenada. In 1731, New Grenada was divided, and a number of the provinces composing that kingdom, were separated from it. These were put under the jurisdiction of a captain general and president, whose seat of government was at Caraccas.

In 1568, Chili was erected into a separate captain generalship; in 1778, a new vice royalty was established at Buenos Ayres, comprehending all the Spanish possessions to the east of the Western Cordilleras and to the south of the river Maranon.

This immense empire seems, according to the laws of the Indies, to have been considered a distinct kingdom of itself, though united to Spain, and annexed to the crown of Castile. In this light, it is viewed by baron Humboldt, in his essay on New Spain.

With some slight shades of difference in the regulations established in these governments, the prominent features of their political institutions, exhibit a striking resemblance, as the general system was the same.

Their commerce was confined to the parent country, and to Spanish vessels exclusively. They were prohibited, under the penalty of death, to trade with foreigners. The natives of old Spain, composed the body of their merchants. Though this part of the system, had, previously to the revolution, been relaxed, in some degree, particularly by the statute of free commerce, as it is styled, the relief was partial, and the restrictions continued severe and oppressive.

All access to the Spanish settlements was closed to foreigners, and even the inhabitants of the different provinces, were prohibited from intercourse with one another, unless under the strictest regulations.

The various manufactures, that might interfere with those of Spain, were not permitted. They were prevented under severe penalties from raising flax, hemp, or saffron. In climates most congenial to them, the culture of the grape and the olive was prohibited, on account of the distance of Peru and Chili; and the difficulty of transporting oil and wine to these remote regions, they were permitted to plant vines and olives, but were prohibited the culture of tobacco. At Buenos Ayres, by special indulgence of the vice roys, they were allowed to cultivate grapes and olives, merely for the use of the table.

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They were compelled to procure from the mother country, articles of the first necessity: and were thus rendered dependant on her for the conveniences of life, as well as luxuries. The crown possessed the monopoly of tobacco, salt, and gunpowder.

To these oppressive regulations and restrictions was added an odious system of taxation. From the Indians, was exacted a tribute in the shape of a poll tax, or a certain servitude in the mines, called the mita. A tenth part of the produce of cultivated lands, was taken under the denomination of tithes. The alcavala, a tax varying from two and an half, to five per cent. on every sale and resale of all things moveable and immovable, was rigidly exacted, though in some cases a commutation was allowed. Royal and municipal duties were laid on imports and on the tonnage, entrance and clearance of vessels, under the different appellations of almoxarifasgo, sea, alcavalla, cerso, consulado, armada, and armadilla. To these may be added the royal fifths of the precious metals, the most important tax in the mining districts. Besides all these, there were stamp taxes, tavern licenses, and sums paid for the sale of offices, of titles of nobility, papal bulls, the composition and confirmation of lands, with a number of others of inferior grade.

Under the Spanish monarchs, who had early obtained from the pope the ecclesiastical dominion, and thus had united in their royal persons, all civil and religious authority, a most oppressive hierachy was established with its numerous train of offices and orders, succeeded by the inquisition

The posts of honor and profit, from the highest to the lowest, were filled almost exclusively by natives of old Spain.

The principal code of laws thus maintain the supremacy of Spain over those distant regions, almost locked up from the rest of the world, emanated from the council of the Indies established by the king, in which he was supposed to be always present. The royal rescripts, the recopitationes of the Indies, and the partidas furnished the general rules of decision; and when these were silent or doubtful, recourse was had to the opinions of professional men.

This system was generally executed by the vice roys, captains general, and by the tribunals of justice, with a spirit, corresponding with the rigorous policy that produced it. To this form of government, the country had for centuries submitted with implicit obedience, and probably would have continued to submit much longer, but for events in this country and the changes in Europe. The sagacious minds of many able writers, penetrating into the future, had predicted at some distant date, a revolution in South America, before that in North America had commenced. From the period of the successful termination of our own struggle for independence, that of the inhabitants of the south, has been with more confidence foretold; and there is reason to believe it has been hastened by this fortunate event. The conduct of Spain, during the war of our re-

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volution, was calculated to make a lasting impression on her colonies. This result was then foreseen by intelligent politicians; many were surprised that she could be so blind to her own interests, after she had on one occasion, manifested the strongest suspicion of paraguay; for to her scrupulous jealousy of this power, the expulsion of the Jesuits from that country in 1750 is to be attributed.

The wars that arose from the French revolution, have produced in Europe, changes of the greatest magnitude, which have had an immense influence on the affairs of South America. When Spain joined France against the combined princes, she exposed her distant possessions to British hostilities. The great naval power of England, gave her ready access to the American colonies. Engaged in an ardous contest, she was prompted by her feelings and interests, to retaliate on Spain, the conduct she experienced from her during the war of our independence. Encouraged, perhaps, by the councils of her enemies, the first symptoms of insurrection, in the continental possessions of Spain, were exhibited in the year 1797, in Venezuela. These were succeeded by the attempts of Miranda in the same quarter, which were accompanied, or were followed since the vacillating state of the Spanish monarchy, by revolutionary movements in Mexico, Grenada, Peru, Chili, and Buenos Ayres; and from which, scarcely any part of the Spanish dominions in America has been entirely exempt.

The occurrences that led the way to the subsequent important events in the provinces of La Plata, were the invasion of the British under Popham and Berresford in the year 1806, and their expulsion a few months afterwards, by the collected forces of the country under Leniers and Pueyrredon. These incidents fortunately gave to the people a just idea of their own strength, and they afterwards repelled with a firmness and bravery, that did them great honor, the formidable attack of the British under general Whitlocke.

The wretched state to which Spain was reduced by the policy, the power, and the arts of Napoleon, the resignation of Charles the 4th in favor of Ferdinand the 7th, and the renunciation by both, in favor of Napoleon, were productive of the most important results. They threw the kingdom into the greatest confusion. The alternate successes and disasters of the French armies, produced a new era in Spain. The people generally, revolted at the idea of being governed by the brother of Napoleon, to whom he had transferred the crown. Juntas were established, who acted in the name of Ferdinand, then confined in France. These were substituted for the ancient Cortes, and the regular council of the nation, to which in times of imminent danger, they ought to have recurred agreeably to their usages. Conflicting authorities, produced a distracted state of affairs. In the scenes that ensued, the proper attention was not paid to the American provinces. Their conduct towards them, was versatile and inconsistent, they were lost sight of or neglected, until it

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was too late. Conceiving they were abandoned by the parent state, they thought it justifiable to act for themselves. It was not very long before the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, embracing the example of their brethren in Spain, established a junta, which assumed the reins of government, and finally, in the year 1810, sent off the vice roy Cisneros, and his principal adherents. For a summary of events subsequent to this period, until the time of my departure, I beg leave to refer to the outline subjoned (Appendix A) from the pen of Dr. Funes, drawn up in part at my request. Without vouching for the perfect accuracy of the work, I think from the information received, it will probably be found to contain, in general, a correct and impartial sketch, of the prominent transactions and occurrences.

In perusing this interesting document, I have to lament, that its pages are marked with some cases of severity and cruelty, which seem almost inseparable from great revolutions. It must however be consoling to observe, that they appear to have passed through that state, which might possibly have rendered examples necessary, and to have arrived perhaps, at that stage, when the passions becoming less turbulent, and the people more enlightened, a milder system may be expected to prevail.

Their dissentions have produced most of their calamities. In such seasons they were naturally to be expected. But their disputes have been principally heuled, by the prudent and energetic measures of the congress, which commenced its sittings in Tucuman in the year 1815, and adjourned in the year following from thence to Buenos Ayres, where it remained in session, occupied with the task of forming a permanent constitution. This respectable body, besides acting as a convention, or a constituent assembly, exercises temporily legislative powers. Their sittings are public with a gallery of audience, for citizens and strangers. The debates are frequently interesting, and are conducted with ability and decorum; they are published every month for the information of the people.

The dispute with Artigas, the chief of the Orientals, has not been adjusted. This, with a certain jealousy of the superior influence of the city of Buenos Ayres, on the general affairs of the provinces; the conduct of the government of Buenos Ayres, towards the Portuguese, and the high tariff of duties which I understand have been since reduced, appeared to constitute the principal causes of dissatisfaction at the time of my departure.

The declaration by Congress of that independence, which they had for many years previously maintained in fact, was a measure of the highest importance, and has been productive of an unanimity and a decision before unknown. This summit of their wishes, was only to be reached by slow and gradual progress. The public mind had to be illumined on the subject by their pulpits, their presses, and their public orations. The people were to be prepared for the event, when the season arrived, they cut the knot which could not be untied.

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The declaration of independence was adopted in the directorship of Mr. Pueyrredon, on the 9th day of July, 1816. It was succeeded by an able exposition of the causes that extorted it, to justify, to their fellow citizens and to the world, the measure they had deliberately voted to support with their fortunes and their lives.

Believing the latter paper might be thought worthy of perusal, a translation has been annexed (Appendix B.)

The salutary influence of this bold and decisive step, was once felt throughout the country. It gave new life and strength to the patriotic cause, and stability to the government. The victories of Chacabuco and Maipu, achieved by the arms of Chili and Buenos Ayres, have produced and confirmed a similar declaration of independence by the people of Chili, which is also annexed, (Appendix C) and cemented the cordial union, existing between the confederate states. The consequence has been, that within these extensive territories, there is scarcely the vestige of a royal army to be found, except on the borders of Peru

Having thus, in connection with the succinct account given by Dr. Funes, traced the principal events, since the revolution in Buenos Ayres, I shall droceed to state the result of the information received, according to the best opinion I could form of the extent, population, government and resources of the United Provinces, with their productions, imports, and exports, trade and commerce.

The late vice royalty of Buenos Ayres, of which that city was the metropolis, was by many considered the largest, as well as the most valuable of all the Spanish dominions in South America, extending in a direct line, from its north to its south boundary, a distance of more than two thousand miles; and from its eastern to its western, not less than eleven hundred.

It was composed at the commencement of the revolution of the nine provinces, or intendencies following: Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, Cordova, Salta, Potosi, La Plata, Chochabamba, La Paz and Puno.

Watered by the great river La Plata and its numerous tributary streams, which afford an easy communication with countries of an immense extent, and furnishing an easy access to the treasures of South America, it has always been regarded by Spain, as one of her most precious acquisitions. Enjoying every variety of climate to be found between different and distant latitudes, and blessed with a large portion of fertile soil, it is capable of producing all that is to be found in the temperate or torrid zones. Immense herds of cattle and horses graze on its extensive plains, and constitute at this time their principal source of wealth. The mines of Potosi are also included within its boundaries. There are no woods for a very considerable distance from Buenos Ayres. No forest trees are to be seen on the widely extended pampas, except at intervals a solitary umboo. After passing the Saladillo, in a northerly direction the woods begin, and proceeding in the upper provinces, the hills appear, and moun-

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tains rise in succession, interspersed with rich vallies. On the east side of the rivers La Plata and Parana, the country is said to be very fine. The Entre Rios, is represented as capable of being made a garden spot; and the Banda Oriental presents hills and dales, rich bottoms, fine streams of water, and at a distance from the great river on the banks of the smaller streams, some excellent woodland. Between Maldonada and Monte Video, the east ridge of the Cordilleras terminates on the river La Plata.

Since the revolution, five more provinces have been erected, making in all, fourteen within the limits of the ancient vice royalty viz. Tucuman taken from Salta, Mendoza or Cuyo, taken from Cordova, Corrisntes, Entre Rios, comprising the country between the Uruguay, and the Parana, and the Banda Oriental, or eastern shore of the river La Plata. The two last were taken from the province of Buenos Ayres, which was thus reduced to the territory on the south side of that river. The subordinate divisions of the country, with the principal towns, will be found in the appendix to this report, with an account of the produce, or manufactures of the different districts. (Appendix D.)

Of the fourteen provinces into which the ancient vice royalty is now divided, five were at my departure, principally occupied by the royal forces, (which in consequence of the victory of Maipu, were expected soon to retreat to lower Peru,) or partially under their influence, viz. Potosi, La Plata, Cochabamba, La Paz, and Puno: and the nine following independent, *defacto* of Spain, were in the possession of the pataiots, viz. Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, Mendoza, Salta, Corrientes, Entre Rios, and Banda Oriental. But Paraguay, and the city of Sata Fee, act independently of Buenos Ayres. Though Paraguay is not on unfriendly terms with them, and it is hoped by some will before long join the union. Entre Rios and the Banda Oriental, under general Artigas in the character of chief of the Orientals, are in [redacted] of hostility with Buenos Ayres.

Monte Video the capital of the Eastern shore, was occupied by a Portuguese army, and a squadron of ships of war from Brazil, blockaded the ports of Colonia and Maldovado, and prohibited the entrance of neutral vessels, unless they paid them the same duties on their cargoes, that were charged on the importation of the goods when landed in the country.

The territory of the United Provinces is computed to contain one hundred and fifty thousand square leagues though it probably exceeds that quantity. The lands occupied in the country, remote from the cities are general converted by their owners, into estanias, or large grazing farms for cattle, and chacras for growing grain.—The small farms, or quintas, in the neighborhood of cities, are in fine order. Those around Buenos Ayres, which furnish their market, with an ample supply of fruit and vegetables, are by irrigation, in the highest state of culture.

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The population, exclusive of the Indians, is now calculated at about one million three hundred thousand: but adding the civilized Indians only, who are of great importance, it would in all, probably exceed two millions.

The whole population consists of nations of old Spain, and their descendants born in the country, or as they style themselves, South Americans; of Indians civilized, or unreclaimed, with different "casts," or mixed blood; of Africans, and their descendants, or negroes and mulattoes.

I could not ascertain with satisfaction, the population of the different provinces: the province of Buenos Ayres, contains about one hundred and twenty thousand, whilst the population of Entre Rios and Banda Oriental is computed at fifty thousand.

The city of Buenos Ayres contains a population of sixty thousand. The inhabitants of this place, appear to be amiable and an interesting people. They are considered brave and humane; possessing intelligence, capable of great exertions and perseverance, and manifesting a cheerful devotion to the cause of freedom and independence.

There is also a certain mediocrity and equality of fortune prevailing among them, extremely favorable to a union of the popular sentiment, in support of the common weal. Many industrious mechanics, and enterprising merchants, are, however increasing their estates, and adding to the stock of capital in the country.

The people of the province of Buenos Ayres, residing out of the city, are, generally speaking, poor, and rather indolent. Though a hardy race, and when excited to action, they become zealous defenders of the liberties of their country. They are capable of great improvement, and under the influence of a good example, when a change takes place in their habits and manner of living, they bid fair to become useful and industrious citizens.

The inhabitants of Cordova, are said to be more superstitious, and more industrious, but less patriotic. This is principally attributed to the loss of the trade with Peru, occasioned by the revolutionary war.

Tucuman, I was informed, possessed an excellent population.

The people of Mendoza, or Cuyo, are moral, industrious and patriotic. They have sacrificed largely at the shrine of independence, supporting with zeal and confidence, the cause of their country; whilst the citizens of Santa Fee, are represented, as immoral and unsubordinate, and manifesting on most occasions, an extreme jealousy of their neighbors.

The populatian of Entre Rios and Banda Oriental, is perhaps not inferior in valor to that of Buenos Ayres. Nor is it deficient in military skill, particularly in carrying on a partizan warfare, for which its troops are admirably adapted. Their other good qualities, have been probably somewhat impaired by the system pursued in that

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quarter, where they have been compelled to give up every thing like civil avocations, and to continue without any regular kind of government, under the absolute control of a chief, who, whatever may be his political principles, or professions, in practice concentrates all power, legislative, judicial, and executive in himself.

The general congress of the United Provinces, assembled at Buenos Ayres, on the 3d of December, of 1817, established by a provisional statute, a temporary form of government, which will be found in Appendix marked E.

This congress is comprised of deputies from the different provinces. It actually consists of twenty-six members. But as a representative is allowed for every fifteen thousand citizens, it would be more numerous, if all the provinces had sent delegates in that ratio of population.

With some exceptions, and particularly of that palladium of our rights which is unknown to the civil law, the trial by jury, the provisional constitution will be found on an attentive perusal, to contain a distinct recognition, of many of the vital principles of free government. A church establishment also, that of the catholic faith, is contrary to our ideas of religious freedom; though a measure, adopted from necessity, perhaps by them.

It declares, that all power, legislative, judicial, and executive, resides in the nation. The congress are to be chosen by electors, who are to be voted for by the people in the primary assemblies. The cabildos, or municipalities, are to be elected immediately by the citizens. It recognizes the independence of the judiciary, and declares the tenure of office, with respect to the superior judges to be during good behavior. It provides for the election of a chief magistrate by congress, removable when they choose to appoint a successor, and responsible for the execution of the duties of his office, which are defined and limited. In the oath of office, he is sworn to preserve the integrity and independence of the country.

The three great departments of state, of the treasury, and of war, are distinctly marked out, and their respective powers and duties assigned.

On some subjects, it enters more into detail than is usual with us, particularly in those of their army, navy, and militia. But this perhaps, in their situation, was necessary.

It provides that no citizen shall accept a title of nobility, without forfeiting the character of citizenship.

It provides also, against general warrants, and the arrest of individuals, unless on probable proof of guilt.

It contains a salutary provision that a judge, having original jurisdiction, before taking cognizance of a cause, shall use all possible means of reconciling the parties. This constitution is but temporary. The congress are engaged in the task of forming a permanent one. In the mean time, no alteration can be made in the present, unless

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with the consent of two-thirds of the members. In this manner some alterations have been adopted.

The subject of a permanent constitution was before a committee of sixteen members of congress. There was a difference of opinion prevailing among them, on the point of a confederated or a consolidated government. If they should adopt the former they will frame the constitution, in all probability, nearly after the model of that of the United States. Should they decide on the latter, it is highly probable, they will incorporate the leading features of our system into their form of government. They seem to concur in the proposition, to have a chief magistrate elected for a term of years and a representative legislature to consist of two branches. A senate, to constitute the most permanent body, and a house of representatives, whose term of service, will be of shorter duration.

Perhaps it would be better for them to delay the completion of this all important task, after the example of the United States, until a period of peace. Their present provisional statute, is an improvement on those which preceded it; and we may expect their proposed constitution, will be still more perfect, as they advance in the knowledge of those principles on which republican governments are constituted.

But however free in theory, this provisional statute may be, it is undoubtedly true, that unless administered agreeably to its letter, and spirit, it will not afford security to the citizen. Whether any infractions have occured since the date of its existence, I cannot pretend to determine, not being in full possession of the facts.

When we recollect, that they have the benefit of our example, it may reasonably be expected, that they will, in general, adhere to their written constitution. They have also the fatal result of the French revolution, warning them of the dangers of its excesses, of which they appear to be sensible.

The productions and the manufactures of the different provinces, will be found in Appendix D, but I was unable to procure any satisfactory estimates of the probable value or amount in each province. There is, however, a considerable internal trade carrried on in the interchange of various articles, between the several provinces; cattle, horses, and mules, furnish a considerable source of barter; with the latter, Peru is usually supplied: the Paraguay tea is a great article of trade throughout the country; the brandy, wine, raisins, and figs of Mandoza and San Juan, are becoming important; the hides of oxen, the skins of the vaccina, and granaco, with a number of fine furs, afford valuable articles of exchange. These, with the foreign goods, transported in every direction from Buenos Ayres, very readily by oxen and mules, which also furnish the means of carrying their native productions to their sea ports, form a branch of trade of great magnitude, considering the population of the country.

Their exports are calculated with some degree of accuracy, at

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ten millions of dollars. These consist, principally, of ox hides, jerk beef, and tallow, the present great staples of the country. A variety of furs, and peltry, some grain, copper, mostly brought from Chili, with gold and silver in bullion, and in coin, chiefly from the mines of Potosi.

The imports are computed to be about equal to their exports. British manufactures form the principal mass, and they are to be had in great abundance. They consist of woollen and cotton goods of every description; some of them wrought to imitate the manufactures of the country, ironmongery, cutlery, hardware, saddlery, hats, porter, ale, and cheese, are among the remaining articles.

From the United States they receive lumber of all kinds, and furniture of every description, coaches, and carriages of all sorts, cod-fish, mackerel, shad, and herring, leather, boots, and shoes, powder, and munitions of war, and naval stores, ships, and vessels, particularly those calculated for their navy or for privateers.

From Brazils they receive sugar, coffee, cotton, and rum.

From the north of Europe, they receive steel, and iron, and from France a number of articles of its manufacture.

Their foreign commerce is principally carried on by British capitalists, though there are some Americans, a few French, and other foreign merchants, also settled at Buenos Ayres; they are all placed, I believe, on the same footing of equality.

The revenue of the state may be estimated at about three millions of dollars annually; but their system of finance is very imperfect, and although their debt is small, their credit is low; they have hitherto avoided the issuing of paper money, and they have established no bank; but they have sometimes anticipated their revenue, by giving due bills receivable in payment for duties, or goods imported, or articles exported; the impost furnishes the principal part of the revenue. A copy of their tariff, as at first established, was some time since transmitted, I believe, to the Department of State, in this, the duties were generally specific and high. I understand they have been lately reduced, as their exorbitancy had occasioned much smuggling.

Voluntary contributions from those friendly to the revolution, and forced loans from the old Spaniards, have constituted another portion of their funds. To show the public capital adequate to all exigencies, their different civil, military, and naval establishments, have been taken into view, and are comprised in the estimate furnished, a thing unusual with us; but they have omitted their public lands, which, if a prudent use made of them, must at no distant day, become a very productive source of revenue to the state.

The mines of Potosi, which, in all probability, will very soon fall into their hands again, may furnish them with a considerable supply of the precious metals. It is stated on respectable authority, that so late as the year 1790, the amount of gold and silver coined at Potosi.

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in that year, was calculated to have been $ 299,846 in gold, and $ 2,983,176 in silver.

The state of their army, and the condition of their navy, will be seen by a reference to the original return presented. (Appendix F.*)

Their army is composed of regular troops. Civicos, and militia, in one or other of these clases, they are educated to the military art, and as far as I had an opportunity, and was capable of judging, they appeared to be well acquainted with the elements of their profession. Their forces, according to the paper furnished, are estimated at nearly thirty thousand men. They are composed of 1,296 artillery, 13,693 infantry, and 14,718 cavalry: of which 12,143 are troops of the line, 7,041 are Civicos, and 10,573 militia. These form the different armies of the center of Peru, of the Andes, of Cordova, and the auxiliary forces in the Entre Rios. This statement however only includes the militia of the province of Buenos Ayres itself. There supply of armes and munitions of war is ample, as will be seen by the statement annexed, on that subject.

Their navy is small, and some of their vessels are laid up in ordinary. A list of them as well as of their privateers, will be found in Appendix F. Their private armed vessels are subjected to very strict regulations, agreeably to their prize code, which is among the original papers presented and herewith delivered. It may be proper, in this place to introduce the subject of the irregular conduct of the privateers under the patriot flag, against which the commissioners were directed to remonstrate. Having taken an opportunity of explaining to Mr. Tagle, the secretary of state, the proceedings of our government relative to Amelia Island and Galveztown, agreeably to their instructions, the commissioners embraced a suitable occasion, to urge the just cause of complaint, which the malpractices of private armed vessels, wearing the patriot colors, had furnished our government; on both topics, they had long and interesting conversations. With the conduct of the government respecting Amelia Island and Galveztown, Mr. Tagle expressed himself perfectly satisfied, and he disclaimed for his government any privity or participation in the lodgments made at those places, by persons acting in the name of the patriots of South America. In reference to the acts of cruizers under the patriotic flags, he said he was sensible that great irregularities had occurred, though his government had done every thing in their power to prevent them, and were willing if any instance of aggression were pointed out, to direct an inquiry into the case, and if the facts were established, to punish those concerned, and redress the injured individuals. He professed his readiness to adopt any measures that would more effectually prevent a recurrence of such acts, in which he expressed his belief, that the privateers of Buenos Ayres, had rarely participated, though the character of the government had suffered

* The document referred to is not sent.

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from the conduct of others. He stated that they had on one occasion, sent out some of their public vessels to examine all cruisers wearing the Buenos Ayrean flag, to see that they were lawfully commissioned, and to ascertain whether they had violated their instructions.

Among the causes of dissatisfaction, to which I have alluded, the preponderance of the capital has been mentioned. Its great weight in the scale of national affairs, is to be ascribed to its greater exertions in the national cause. These are owing to its comparative wealth, and to its active, intelligent, and enterprising population. The armies that have been raised in this city and the neighboring country, with the supplies in money and munitions of war drawn from these sources, have been truly extraordinary.

It would be a difficult task to make an exact calculation, or to form even a probable estimate, but all seemed to concede the superior merit claimed on account of their exertions, when compared with their wealth and population: and it is not unlikely that Buenos Ayres has in consequence assumed a higher tone, and acquired a controling influence, which she has sometimes abused.

Another source of discontent is, the unfortunate dispute between the Banda Oriental, and Buenos Ayres, which had also an influence on the proceedings of the latter towards the Portuguese.

The original cause of division, may be traced to a jealousy, long subsisting between the rival cities of Monte Video and Buenos Ayres. This has become habitual and has extended to the country. Private interests, and personal views have also increased their dissentions.

General Artigas (who bears the character of chief of the Orientals, as has been already stated, and has also assumed that of the protector of the Entre Rios and Santa Fee) was originally in the royal service, a captain in a provincial corps. In this, he continued for some time after the revolution had commenced at Buenos Ayres. But in the year 1811, taking offence, as it is said, at some conduct of the Spanish commandant of Colonia, he abandoned the royal cause, and entered into the service of the patriots. So early as the year 1813, when acting against Monte Video, he became dissatisfied with Sarratea, the commander in chief from Buenos Ayres. On his removal from the head of the army, he quarrelled with general Rondeau, who it was supposed would have been acceptable to him, and finally withdrew, before the siege of Monte Video was finished under general Alvear. For this conduct, Posadas, when he succeeded to the government, treated him as a deserter from their service. By a proclamation he offered a reward for his apprehension, and set a price upon his head: an act, which general Artigas never forgot or forgave.

During the subsequent directorship of Alvear, he induced the Cabildo of Buenos Ayres, to issue a similar proclamation against general Artigas. When Alvear was dismissed, the people of Buenos Ayres endeavored to atone for their conduct by burning with every

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mark of ignominy, the degrading proclamation. They also addressed a conciliatory letter to the general, and received from him a corresponding answer. These, were preliminary to a fruitless attempt at reconciliation, made by the director *ad interim*, colonel Alvarez, who succeeded Alvear. The correspondence on this occasion is annexed (Appendix H.) Other endeavors to reconcile him have failed, notwithstanding the changes in the office of director at Buenos Ayres. On one occasion, the proposition was made, that the Banda Oriental, should remain independant of Buenos Ayres, and merely send deputies to the general congress, to concert measures against the common enemy. On another, when the Portuguese army was approaching the frontiers of the Banda Oriental, an effort was made by Pueyrredon to reconcile him, and to unite him in the common defence. Ample supplies of arms, and munitions of war, were offered, and some furnished, but this attempt also failed.

In order that a fuller view of this subject may be had, I have subjoined a translated copy of an animated letter from general Artigas, to Mr. Pueyrredon. (Appendix I). It is but justice to add, that general Artigas, is thought by persons entitled to credit, to be a firm friend to the independence of the country. To express a decided opinion on this delicate question, would scarcely be expected of me, as my position, did not command a view of the whole ground. I had not the satisfaction to be derived from a personal interview with general Artigas, who is, unquestionably, a man of rare and singular talents. But if I were to hazard a conjecture, I think it not improbable, that in this, as in most family disputes, there have been faults on both sides. It is to be lamented, that they are in open hostility. The war has been prosecuted with great animosity, and in two late engagements, the troops of Buenos Ayres have been defeated with great loss. By some it was said that the inhabitants of the eastern shore were anxious, that a reconciliation would take place, whilst the people in the country, preferred their present state.

I must not omit to take a glance at the situation of Paraguay. This province presents a singular spectacle. It stands aloof from the rest. The people with the aid of the few remaining royal troops, repulsed an army, sent to compel them to join the common standard. Very soon afterwards, they expelled the royalists, and set up for themselves. Since this period, they appear to have adopted a partial non-intercourse system. But Buenos Ayres, on one occasion, succeeded in obtaining an understanding with them. Some, suspect that they are secretly inimical to the existing order of things, and wish to keep themselves within their shell in case of a change, that they may profit by future events, others, calculate with some confidence, on their ultimate union with Buenos Ayres, with which, at present they indulge a limited, and reluctant intercourse. Paraguay is under the immediate control, of a person named Francia, who styles himself dictator of Paraguay.

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From the domestic concerns of the provinces, we naturally turn to their foreign relations. On this subject the commissioners were informed that they had nothing more than a friendly understanding with any foreign nation. With the Portuguese government, they concluded an arrangement in 1812, under the mediation, it is said, of the British, with respect to the Banda Oriental. They have since had a correspondence with them on the subject of their entrance into that province, and the forceable occupation by a Portuguese army of the city of Monte Video, of which a copy is annexed. (Appendix I). This will present the state of affairs between Buenos Ayres and the Brazils, which has been the theme of much discussion. The superior naval force of the Portuguese stationed in the river La Plata, could have effectually blockaded all the ports of Buenos Ayres. By this means they would have prevented supplies of arms and munitions of war, and entirely destroyed the great source of revenue to the state, the duties on imports and tonnage, at a season when money was much wanted. For about this period, Buenos Ayres, had a powerful army to contend with on the side of Peru, and had taken the burden of the renewed contest of Chili with Spain. Under such circumstances they were in some measure obliged to adopt a cautious and moderate policy. Their conduct in this respect, seems to have been coerced. Their unhappy state with the Orientals, had also an influence on their measures, they alledged that the restless conduct of Artigas, had furnished the Portuguese with a pretext for the invasion; but, it is probable that they will ultimately break with the government of Brazils.

The British government have, through their official agents, entered into commercial stipulations with general Artigas, as the chief of the Orientals, on the subject of their trade with the eastern shore. A copy of this instrument will be found in Appendix K.

The government of Buenos Ayres have a confidential person in Europe soliciting from England, and other powers, it is said, assistance of every kind, and a recognition of their independence. England has a consul, who with her naval commander on that station, appeared to conduct the confidential affairs of the British cabinet, with the government of Buenos Ayres.

What effects the victory of Maipu will produce abroad, it would be hazardous in me to conjecture. Whether like the capture of Burgoyne, it will procure for the United Provinces foreign alliances, I cannot pretend to say.

From a source which is entitled to credit, I was informed that the raising and embarkation of Osorio's army in Peru, was not accomplished without serious difficulties. Alternate force and persuasion were used to collect them, and nothing but the name, character, and promises of their general, could have induced them to go on board of the vessels, prepared for the purpose, at the port of Callao. Some of them were actually in a state of mutiny, notwithstanding

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they were told they would be received with open arms by their brethren in Chili.

The forces finally embarked, agreeably to an account furnished by a gentleman of undoubted veracity on the spot, consisted of the following troops.

1 Company of artillery	70
1 Ditto sappers and miners	81
Regiment of Brugos	900
Ditto of San Carlos infantry	907
Ditto of Arequipa	1000
Arequipa dragoons	160
Lamas	144
	3262

This army was composed of all the regular soldiers they could spare from Lima, who were united at Talcaguna, to the royal forces left in Chili. By the battle of Maipu, it has ceased to exist. The probable effects in Peru, and other parts of South America may be conjectured, but cannot be affirmed. The same gentleman who has been mentioned, and who is conversant in Peruvian affairs, apprehended that important changes would result.

I cannot conclude this paper without drawing your attention to a rapid survey of the reforms and improvements in the province of Buenos Ayres, produced by the revolution and its influence on knowledge, society, and manners.

The effects of the revolution are visible in the changes produced in the state of society. The difference in the freedom of acting and thinking, which preceded the revolution, must necessarily be great. The freedom of commerce must have given a spring to exertions of native enterprise, and intelligence, while the active scenes of war and politics, for the last ten years, have awakened the genius of the country which had so long slumbered. The generation now on the stage may almost be said to have been reared under a new order of things. The common stock of ideas among the people, has been greatly augmented, the natural consequence of the important political events, which daily transpire, and in which every man like the citizen of Athens feels an interest. The newspapers are every where circulated together with the manifestoes of the government, which is obliged to court the approbation of public opinion on all measures of moment. It is not very unusual, for the same countryman, who, a few years ago, never troubled himself about any thing beyond the narrow circle of his domestic concerns, to purchase a newspaper on coming to town, as a matter of course, and if unable to read, to request the first one he meets, to do him that favor. The country curates are moreover enjoined to read the newspapers, and manifestoes regu-

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larly to their flocks. The spirit of improvement may be seen in every thing. Even some of those who are under the influence of strong prejudices against the revolution, frequently remark the changes for better, which have taken place. Their habits, manners, dress and mode of living, have been improved by intercourse with strangers and the free introduction of foreign customs, particularly English, American and French. Great prejudices prevail against whatever is Spanish. It is even offensive to them, to be called by this name, they prefer to be identified with the aborigines of the country. The appelation which the have assumed, and in which they take a pride, is that of South Americans.

A powerful stimulus, must necessarily have been given to their industry, by two important circumstances, the diminution in prices of foreign merchandise, and the great increase in value of the products of the country with the consequent rise of property. Though the grounds in the neighborhood of cities are highly improved, as I have already stated—agriculture, comparatively speaking, is in a low condition. In general, the lands are badly tilled. The plough is rarely used, and the substitute, is a very indifferent one. But notwithstanding the disadvantages of the present method of culture, I was informed by reputable persons, that the average crop of wheat is not less than fifty bushels per acre, in good seasons.

On the subject of religion, especially the change in the public mind, has been very great. The catholic faith is established, as that of the state, but there are many advocates, both in conversation and in writing, of universal toleration. Some members of congress, are said to be strongly in favor of it; but the ignorant and superstitious part of the people, together with the regular clergy would not be satisfied with such a measure, while the liberality prevailing among the better informed classes, is such, as to secure a virtual toleration for the present. Besides, from the circumstances of their being no sects in the country, such a provision may wait the progress of liberality in public opinion. In fact, the human mind has been set free, on all matters of a general abstract nature, although the liberty of the press, is circumscribed in some degree, with respect to strictures on public measures, and men, and the established religion: but there is neither inquisition nor previous license. They acknowledge the pope as a spiritual head merely, and do not think him entitled to any authority to interfere in their temporal concerns. His bull in favor of the king of Spain against the colonists, which may be almost regarded as an excommunication, produced little or no sensation.

The number of monks and nuns never were very great in Buenos Ayres, when compared with other portions of the Spanish dominions. They have diminished since the revolution. There was at one time, a positive law passed, forbidding any one to become a monk or a nun: but they were obliged to repeal it, and it was afterwards passed with some modifications. The restrictions substituted, aided

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by public opinion, have nearly produced the desired effect. Few of the youth of the country, apply themselves to the study of theology, since other occupations much more tempting to their ambition, have been opened to their choice. Formerly, the priesthood was the chief aim of young men of the best families, who were desirous of distinction: as in fact, it constituted almost the only profession to which those who had received a liberal education, could devote themselves; which will readily account for the circumstance, of so many of the secular clergy, directing their attention at present, almost exclusively to politics. The regular clergy, who are not permitted by the nature of their profession, to take part in the business of the world, or to hold secular offices, are many of them Europeans: but those of them who are natives, take the same lively interest in passing events, with the other classes of the community.

They have gone cautiously to work in reforms, in the different branches of their municipal laws, and the administration of them. The number of offices has been considerably diminished, and responsibility rendered more direct, and severe. The judiciary system has undergone many improvements, and nearly all the leading features of the law, which did not harmonize with the principles of free government, have been expunged, though some of the former evils still remain. The barbarous impositions on the aborigines, have been abolished. The odious alcavalla, and other obnoxious taxes, modified, so as no longer to be vexatious: slavery, and the slave trade forbidden in future; and all titles of nobility prohibited, under the pain of the loss of citizenship. The law of primogeniture, is also expunged from their system. In the provisional statute as has already been stated, nearly all the principles of free representative government are recognized, accompanied it is true, with certain drawbacks, for which they plead the necessity of the times, but which, they profess their intention to do away, on the final settlement of the government: a consummation anxiously desired by all classes of inhabitants. The example of France, has warned them not to attempt too much at first: they have followed the plan of the United States, in the introduction of gradual reforms, instead of resorting to violent and sudden innovations, and revolutions.

Next to the establishment of their independence by arms, the education of their youth appears to be the subject of the most anxious interest. They complain, that every possible impediment was thrown in the way of education, previous to the revolution; that so far from fostering public institutions for this purpose, several schools were actually prohibited in the capital, and the young men were not without restraint, permitted to go abroad for their education. There was a college at Cordova, at which those destined for the bar, or the priesthood, completed their studies, upon the ancient monkish principles. Another called San Carlos, (now the Union of the South) had been opened at Buenos Ayres, but was afterwards converted into bar-

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racks for soldiers. It is an immense building, more extensive, perhaps, than any which has been dedicated to learning in this country; and it has lately been fitted up at very great expense. The school was to have opened in May or June last, on a more modern and liberal plan of discipline and instruction. The library of the state, is kept in an adjoining building; it occupies a suit of six rooms, and contains nearly twenty thousand volumes: the greater part rare and valuable. It is formed out of the library of the Jesuits, the books collected in the different monasteries, donations from individuals, and an annual appropriation by the government, and contains works on all subjects and in all the languages of the polished nations of Europe. A very valuable addition, has been lately made, of several thousand volumes, brought to Buenos Ayres by M. Bonpland, the companion of the celebrated Humboldt.

Besides the University of Cordova, at which there are about one hundred and fifty students, there are public schools in all the principal towns, supported by their respective corporations. In Buenos Ayres, besides an Academy, in which are taught the higher branches, and the college before mentioned, there are eight public shools, for whose support, the corporation contributes about seven thousand dollars annually; and according to the returns of last year the number of scholars, amounted to eight hundred and sixty-four. There are five other shools, exclusively for the benefit of the poor, and under the charge of the different monasteries; these, are supplied with books and stationery at the public expense. There are also parish schools in the country, for the support of which a portion of the tithes has been lately set apart. It is rare to meet with a boy ten or twelve years of age, in the city of Buenos Ayres, who cannot read and write. Besides the scholars thus instructed, many have private tutors. In addition to all this, I must not omit to mention the military academies supported by government at Buenos Ayres, and Tucuman, at whica, there are a considerable number of cadets.

There are no prohibited books of any kind; all are permitted to circulate freely, or to be openly sold in the book-stores; among them is the new testament in Spanish. This alone, is a prodigious step, towards the emancipation of their minds from prejudices. There are several book-stores, whose profits have rapidly increased; a proof that the numbers of readers has augmented in the same proportion. There had been a large importation of English books, a language becoming daily more familiar to them. Eight years ago, the mechanic art of printing was scarcely known in Buenos Ayres: at present, there are three printing offices, one of them very extensive, containing four presses. The price of printing is, notwithstanding, at least three times higher than in the United States: but as there is no trade or intercourse with Spain, all school-books used in the country, some of them original, are published at Buenos Ayres; the business, is therefore, profitable, and rapidly extending. There are

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many political essay, which instead of being inserted in the newspapers, are published in loose sheets: there are also original pamphlets, as well as republications of foreign works. The Constitutions of the United States, and of the different states, together with a very good history of our country, and many of our most important state papers, are widely circulated. The work of Dean Funes, the venerable historian of the country, comprised in three large octavo volumes, considering the infancy of the typographic art in this part of the world may be regarded as an undertaking of some magnitude.

There are three weekly journals or newspapers published in the city, which have an extensive circulation through the United Provinces. They all advocate the principles of liberty and republican forms of government, as none other would suit the public taste. The year before last it is true, one of the papers ventured to advocate the restoration of the Incas of Peru with a limited monarchy, but it was badly receievd. No proposition for the restoration of hereditary power of any kind, as far as I could learn, will be seriously listened to for a moment, by the people. Even the ordinary language has changed. They speak of "the state," "the people," "the public," "country," and use other terms, as in the United States, implying the interest that each man takes in what appertains to the community. The first principle constantly inculcated is, "that all power rightfully emanates from the people." This, and similar dogma, form a part of the education of children, taught at the same time with their catechism. It is natural, that the passion for free govenment, should be continually encreasing. A fact may be mentioned to show the solid advancement they have made, which is, that the number of votes taken at their elections, increases every year. In becoming habituated to this peaceful and orderly mode of exercising their right of choosing those who are to be invested with authority, the tumultuous and irregular removal, by a kind of general oratory or acclamation, of those who have been chosen, will gradually cease.

Rather than disturb the order of society, they will endure with patience, until the time arrives, for effecting a regular and constitutional change. Since the election of the present director, none of these tumults, before so frequent, have occurred. These tumults have seldom been attended with bloodshed; yet they produce great confusion, and disorder, and give rise to habits of insubordination, at the same time, that they are ruinous to the character of a nation.

The vice royalty of Buenos Ayres, differed from the rest, in one important particular. It contained, no nobility, or if any, very few. This may be regarded as a favorable circumstance in their society. Another favorable feature, very necessary to the successfull administration of their affairs, as the conduct of many individuals who have filled the highest office of state, in descending from that dignafied situation, to inferior posts, and discharging their duties with alacrity. Thus we behold general A. Balcarce, who was formerly director, acting as second in command to colonel San Martin.

Colonel Alvarez, also a director at one period, now serving in the staff, under the chief of that department. General Azcuenega, and general Rondeau, once elected to the chair of state, is at present employed in a minor office. There are others, who have occupied the same elevated post, who have retired to the station of private citizens.

The general capacities of the United Provinces for national defence, are also, important in many respects, the nature and extent of the country, afford the inhabitants numerous advantages over an invading army. The ease with which their herds of cattle may be driven to distant places, beyond the reach of an enemy and the rapid movements of the troops of the country can make, from the ample supply of horses and mules, are circumstances of great consequence in a military view. Even the towns not fortified from the manner in which they are built, and from the construction of their houses, furnish powerful means of defence, as the British army under general Whitlock, experienced in their attack on Buenos Ayres.

I am sensible, that in the course of these statements, and remarks, some inaccuracies and errors must have occurred, but they have been unintentional. I have only to add, that the reception of the commissioners at Buenos Ayres, by the chief magistrate was friendly and flattering.

From every class, they met with a cordial welcome. The people in general, appeared to be very much attached to the American character, and to the government and citizens of the United States.

Should any thing further occur, it shall be made the subject of a future paper.

I have the honor to be,
With great respect,
Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) C. A. RODNEY.

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APPENDIX.

A, Funes outline.
B, The manifesto of independence by the congress of Buenos Ayres.
C, Declaration of independence of Chili.
D, Translation of various documents furnished by the government of Buenos Ayres.
E, Provisional statute.
F, Original reports of the secretary at war of Buenos Ayres.
H, Correspondence between Alvarez and agents of Artigas.
I, Letter of Artigas to Pueyrredon.
J, Correspondence with the Portuguese general.
K, British arrangements with Artigas.
L, Original prize code.

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Mr. Graham to the Secretary of State.

City of Washington, 5th Nov. 1818.

SIR,

Mr. Rodney having undertaken to draw up, for our joint signature, a report respecting the present situation of the country we recently visited under the orders of the President, and circumstances having prevented him, from presenting it to me for perusal, until his late arrival in this city, I was not aware until then, that I should have occasion to present to you my individual views on that subject. But on an attentive perusal of the paper he drew up, I found, that although there was not perhaps any important fact on which we essentially differed, yet that some were stated of which I was not aware; and that we had taken views which it might be difficult to combine during the short time then allowed to us, and of which it might be proper, that you should be put in possession. Under these circumstances I thought it better to submit to the disadvantage of hastily throwing my observations together, and of presenting them separately, than to ask him to derange the general tenor of his report by introducing them into it.

The arrival of Mr. Bland, who will necessarily make a separate report will, I trust, reconcile the President to the course I have taken, as from a combined view of what we individually state, he may, perhaps, be better enabled to draw his own inferences as to the actual situation and future prospects of the country we visited, than from any joint report in which we could all have agreed, as under ordinary circumttances, that must have been the result of a compromise of opinions, and would probably have excluded some facts, or some views, which, one or the other of us, will in the mode now adopted present to you.

In my particular situation, however, I thought it less necessary to go into detail, as I knew that the report of Mr. Rodney would furnish information on points which I omit.

With great respect,

I have the honor, to be, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

JOHN GRAHAM.

The Honorable John Quincy Adams,
Secretary of State.

The country formerly known as the vice royalty of Buenos Ayres, extending from the north western sources of the river La

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Plata to the southern cape of America, and from the confines of Brasil and the ocean, to the ridge of the Andes, may be considered as that which is called "The United Provinces of South America."

Under the royal government, it was divided into the intendencies, or provinces of Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, Cordova, Salta, Potosi, Plata, Cochabomba, La Pox, and Puno. Subsequently to the revolution, in the year 1814, another division was made; and from the provinces of Cordova, Salta, and Buenos Ayres, were taken those of Cuyo or Mendoza, Tucuman, Corientes, Entre Rios, and the Banda Oriental. The others, it is believed, retained their former boundaries and with the exception of Paraguay, are generally called "Upper Peru."

This widely extended country embraces almost every variety of climate and soil, and is capable of almost every variety of production. A large part of it however, particularly on the west side of the river La Plata, and southerly towards cape Horn, is deficient in wood, even for fuel, and in water, that which is found is generally brackish.

Although three centuries have passed by, since the Spaniards made their first settlement in this country, and some considerable towns, and cities have grown in it; yet its general improvement and population have by no means kept pace with them, for the lower provinces have been almost entirely abandoned to the immense herds of cattle, which graze on their plains, and require only the partial care of a comparatively few herdsmen; and the inhabitants of Upper Peru have been engaged more generally in the business of mining than was favorable to improvement or population. Certain small districts, having peculiar advantages are said to be well cultivated, and very productive: but agriculture has in general been very much neglected. It is in a great degree confined to the vicinity of the towns, and cities, and may be said to limit its supplies to their demands. This state of things, combined with the regulations of the former government, the influence of climate, and the force of example, has stamped the character of indolence upon that class of society usually considered as the laboring class. The same causes have not operated, at least, not with the same force, upon the other inhabitants of the country, hence they are more industrious, and more active. Their manners are social, friendly, and polite In native talents they are said to be inferior to no people; and they have given proofs that are capable of great and persevering efforts; that they are ardently attached to their country, and warmly enlisted in the cause of its independence.

It is not necessary for me to enter into a detail of the causes which led to the revolution in 1810. The most immediate perhaps are to be found in the incidents connected with the two invasions of the country by the British in the years 1805 and 1806, and in the subsequent events in Spain, as they have a direct tendency to show to these people their own strength and the incapacity of Spain, to

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give them protection, or enforce obedience. The groundwork was however laid in the jealous and oppressive system adopted at a more early period by the kings of Spain, whose policy it seemed to be, to keep within as narrow limits as circumstances would permit, the intelligence, wealth, and population of that part of America, subject to their dominion, as the surest means of preserving an empire, which they considered the great source of their wealth and power.

The revolution having been auspiciously commenced in the city of Buenos Ayres, was warmly, and zealously supported by the great mass of the people descended from the Spaniards; but the native Spaniards, as well those domesticated in the country as those in the service of the king, were almost all opposed to it, particularly at the time. and under the circumstances it took place. Dissentions were the immediate result, and their long-standing jealousy and distrust of each other, have by subsequent events been heightened into deadly hostility, which time alone can wear away. These dissentions have been considered as one of the causes that produced those which subsequently took place amongst the patriots themselves, and which have been most serious obstacles to the progress of the revolution. Other obstacles, however, have been presented by the royal government in Peru, which has hitherto not only been able to maintain itself there, but has found means by enlisting the native peruvians into its service, to send at different times considerable armies into the upper provinces on the La Plata, where the war has been carried on from the commencement of the revolution to the present day with various success; the great extent and peculiar character of the country and the want of resources, having prevented either party from making a blow, decisive of the contest. When we came away, the advantage in that quarter was on the side of the Spaniards, as they were in possession of the provinces of Upper Peru, which had to a certain degree at least, joined in the revolution, and some of which are represented in the congress. Every where else, they have been obliged to yield up the government and abandon the country, or submit to the ruling power. The peculiar situation of Monte Video, on the east side of the river La Plata, open to the sea, and strongly fortified, enabled the Spanish naval and military forces at an early period in the revolution, to make a stand there; they were ultimately obliged to surrender it; not, however, until long protracted, and perhaps illy directed efforts on the part of the assailants, had given rise to many jarring incidents between those who came from the opposite shores of the river, probably the effect, in part at least, of ancient jealousies, kept alive by the individual interests of particular leaders; these, have been followed by events calculated to produce a still greater alienation; and, although several attempts have been made to bring about a union they have hitherto been unsuccessful. The provinces of the "Banda Oriental," and the "Entre Rios," on the eastern side of the river under the direction of general Artigas are

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now at war with those on the western side, under the government of the congress at Buenos Ayres.

This war has originated from a combination of causes, in which both parties have, perhaps, something to complain of, and something to blame themselves for.

General Artigas and his followers profess a belief that it is the intention of the government of Buenos Ayres to put them down, and oblige them to submit to such arrangements as will deprive them of the privileges of self government, to which they claim to have a right. They say however, that they are willing to unite with the people on the western side of the river; but not in such a way as will subject them to what they call the tyranny of the city of Buenos Ayres. On the other hand, it is stated that this is merely a pretext; that the real object of general Artigas and of some of his principal officers is to prevent a union on any terms, and to preserve the power they have acquired, by giving an erroneous excitement to the people who follow them. That it is wished, and intended to place these provinces on a footing with the others. That the respectable portion of their inhabitants are aware of this fact, and anxious for a union; but are prevented from openly expressing their sentiments, from a fear of general Artigas, whose power is uncontrolled by law, or justice, and hence the propriety and necessity of aiding them to resist it. Armies have accordingly been marched within the present year into these provinces; but they were not joined by a number of the inhabitants and were defeated with great loss.

This war is evidently a source of great injury and regret, and at the same time of extraordinary irritation to both parties, for independently of other causes of recrimination, each accuses the other of having brought about that state of things which threatens to place a most important, and valuable portion of their country in the hands of a foreign power, who has invaded it with a regular, and well appointed army, and is gradually taking possession of commanding points, from which it may be difficult for their united force hereafter to dislodge them. That they will unite, is, I think to be calculated on, unless some event, disastrous to the cause of the revolution itself takes place; for their mutual interest requires a union. But more of moderation and discretion may be necessary to bring it about, than is at this time to be expected from the irritated feelings of some of the principal personages on both sides.

The city of Santa Fee, and a small district of country around it, also refuse to acknowledge the authority of the government of Buenos Ayres.

In Paraguay, the events of the revolution have differed from those in any other province, as the inhabitants of that country have uniformly resisted the efforts of the other provinces to unite with them. After having aided the Spanish placed over them, to repel a military force which had been sent to overthrow them, they them-

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selves expelled from their country these authorities, and established a government of their own, totally unconnected with that of the other provinces, with whom they manifest an unwillingness to keep up even a commercial intercourse. This has given rise to a suspicion in the minds of some, that there is a secret predilection among them for the ancient order of things. But from what is said of their cold and calculating character; from the safe position of their country, and its capacity to supply its own wants, it is probable that their object is to husband their resources, and profit by the exertions of others, without giving their own in aid of them; and possibly in case of ultimate failure, to place their conduct in a less objectionable point of view before the government of Spain. Whatever may have been their motives, they have hitherto contrived to escape, in a great measure, the evils of war.

Their resources in men and money are said to be considerable, and no country is more independent of foreign supplies.

Their conduct furnishes a striking contrast to that of the people of Buenos Ayres, who entered into the revolution with unbounded zeal and energy, and have ever been ready to meet the difficulties of so great an undertaking. This circumstance connected with their local situation, greater resources, and more general information; and perhaps the fact of their having been the first to get power into their hands, have had the effect to give them a controling influence over the revolutionary government, which has not failed to excite, in some degree, the jealousy of the other provinces, and amongst themselves a feeling of superiority little calculated to allay that jealousy. Great evils were at one time apprehended from this state of things, but the Congress which met at Tucaman, in March 1816, composed of deputies from the several provinces then united, assumed the sovereign power of the country, boldly declared its absolute independence, and adopted a provisional form of government, which is understood to have the effect of allaying dissentions, and of introducing a more regular administration of public affairs.

It will be seen from the documents in your possession, that this provisional constitution recognizes many of the principles of free government; but with such drawbacks as are little calculated to enforce them in practice. Great allowances are doubtless to be made for the circumstances of the times, and the danger and difficulty of tearing up ancient institutions, or of adopting new principles to them. But after due allowance for all these considerations, it did not appear to me that so much had been done for the cause of civil liberty, as might have been expected, or that those in power were its strongest advocates. It is generally admitted however, that some changes for the better have been made. Much care seems to be taken to educate the rising generation, and as those who are now coming on the theatre of action have grown up since the commencement of the revolution, and have had the advantage of the light thrown in by it, it is fair

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to suppose that they will be better prepared to support and administer a free government, than those whose habits were formed under the colonial government of Spain.

The commerce and manufactures of the country have grown beyond its agriculture. Various causes however have contributed to lessen some branches of manufacture since the revolution, but commerce is understood to have been increased by it. A much greater variety and quantity of foreign goods are imported, and a greater demand is opened for the productions of the country. The city of Buenos Ayres is the seat of this commerce. From it, foreign and some domestic goods are spread through the interior, as far as Chili and Upper Peru, and in return, the various productions are drawn to it. This trade is carried on principally by land, as is that between the different provinces, though some small portion of it finds its way up and down the large rivers forming the La Plata, which is itself, not so much a river as a great bay. The abundance of cattle, horses, and mules, and of some other animals peculiar to the country, which are used in the mountainous regions of Peru, furnish facilities for transportation, not to be found in any other conntry so little improved, hence the price of transportation is very low, and the internal trade greater than it otherwise would be, though it had been materially lessened in some important branches, by the war with Peru, and the system adopted in Paraguay.

The export and import trade is principally in the hands of the British, though the United States, and other nations participate in it to a certain degree. It is depended on as the great source of revenue to the state—hence they have been tempted to make the duties very high, and to lay them upon both imports and exports, with the exception of lumber and military stores. This circumstance, connected with the fact, that payment is demanded at the custom house before the goods are delivered, has led to a regular system of smuggling, which is said to be carried to great excess, and doubtless occasions the official returns to fall short of the actual amount of the trade. This may be the reason why they were not given to us. The articles imported are almost every variety of European and East India goods principally from England. Rum, sugar, coffee, tobacco, cotton and timber from Brasil. Lumber of almost every description, cod fish, furniture, gin and some smaller articles, from the United States, together with military stores, which, however, find their way into the country directly from Europe, and are thus furnished at a cheaper rate than we can sell them. The principal articles of export are taken from the various animals of the country, tame and wild, from the ox to the chinchilla, copper from Chili, and some of the precious metals drawn principally from Peru; but as gold is worth $17 oz. and passed by tale at that rate, very little of it is exported. Hence the currency of the country is gold, for they have no paper money. The "Libranzas," or bills of credit, issued by the government, are, howe-

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ver, an article of traffic among the merchants, as they are received in payment of one half of the duties. No distinction is made in favor of the trade of any nation, save only that the British merchants have some peculiar facilities granted them in relation to their letters, which are an object of taxation, at least so far as applies to those sent out of the country.

In the official statements given to us, and to which I beg leave generally to refer for information as to the foreign relations, the productions military and naval force, revenue and population, the latter is stated at 1,300,000, exclusive of Indians. This is understood as comprehending the population of all the provinces; but as some of them are not under the government at Buenos Ayres, I have thought it proper to annex the several estimates I collected of the population of each province, as they may serve to give some general information on that point. The most immediate difficulty felt by the government whilst we were in the country, seemed to arise from the want of money: for although the debt was small, their credit was low. It had not been found practicable to adopt a system of finance adequate to the exigencies of the times, though it would seem, from the statement given to us, that the revenue of the last year exceeded the expenses. The important events of the present year in Chili, of which you are informed, will doubtless, have the effect to raise the credit of the country, and to lessen the pressure upon it, at least for a time, and will probably leave the government more at leisure to attend to its internal affairs.

When we came away, it was understood that a committee of the congress was engaged in drafting a new constitution, the power of forming and adopting it, being exclusively vested in the congress. Whether it will assume a federal or national character is somewhat doubtful, as there are evidently two parties in the country, whose views in this respect are very different, and it is believed, that they are both represented in the congress. The one party is in favor of a consolidated, or national government—the other wishes for a federal government, somewhat upon the principles of that of the United States. The probability seems to be, that although there might be a majority of the people in the provinces, generally in favor of the federal system, that it would not be adopted, upon the ground that it was not so well calculated as a national government, to provide for the common defence, the great object now in view. The same general reason may be urged perhaps, for giving to the latter, should it be adopted, less of a republican character than probably would have been given to it, in more quiet and peaceful times. There is danger too, as the power of forming and adopting the constitution is placed in the hands of a few, that the rights and privileges of the people may not be so well understood, or attended to, as they would have been, had the people themselves had a more immediate agency in the affair. It is not to be doubted, however, that

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it will, at least, have a republican form, and be bottomed upon the principles of independence, which is contended for by all descriptions of politicians in the country, who have taken part in the revolution, and will, it is believed, be supported by them in any event, to the last extremity.

Their means of defence of which they are fully aware, are in proportion to their numbers, greater perhaps, than those of almost any other people, and the duration, and events of the war, have strengthened the general determination never to submit to Spain. This determination rests upon the recollection of former sufferings and deprivations; upon a consciousness of their ability to defend and to govern themselves: and upon a conviction, that in case of submission, on any terms, they would, sooner or later, be made to feel the vengeance of the mother country These considerations doubtless have the most weight upon the minds of those, who have taken a leading part. They of course use all their influence to enforce them, and thus to keep up the spirit of the revolution. In this they probably have had the less difficulty, as although the sufferings of the people have been great, particularly in military service, and in raising the contributions necessary for that service, yet the Incubus of Spanish power being thrown off, and with it that train of followers who filled up almost every avenue to wealth and consequence, the higher classes have been awakened to a sense of advantages they did not before enjoy. They have seen their commerce freed from legal restraints. Their articles of export become more valuable their supplies furnished at a lower rate, and all the offices of government or other employments laid open to them, as fair objects of competition. The lower classes have found their labour more in demand and better paid for; and their importance in society greater than it formerly was.

They are yet, however, from their indolence, general want of education, and the great mixture of "casts" among them, in a degraded state, but little felt in the affairs of the government. The stimulus now given will operate to produce a change in them for the better, and it is to be presumed will gradually have its effect, as their docility, intelligence, and activity when called into service, give evidence that they are not deficient in natural or physical powers.

Labor, as it becomes more general, will become less irksome to individuals, and the gradual acquisition of property which must necessarily result from it in such a country under a good government, will doubtless produce the happy effects there which it has uniformly produced elsewhere, and more especially in countries where the population is small when compared to the extent of territory.

I am very sensible that I may have been led into errors of fact, or inference. In that case, I can plead honesty of intention, and the difficulty of collecting at a single point, and within a limited time, correct information; or of analyzing that which was collected, res-

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peeting a people in a state of revolution, who are spread over an immense country, and whose habits, institutions, and language are so different from our own.

I have only to add that we were politely received by the Supreme Director, who made every profession for our government, and every offer of accommodation to us as its agents which we had a right to expect, and that the people manifested on all occasions, the most friendly dispositions.

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Estimate of the Population of the Provinces of Buenos Ayres, Cordova, Tucuman, Mendoza or Cuyo, and Salta under the names of the different towns or districts, which send Representatives to the Congress.

	By an imperfect census taken, it is believed in 1815, excluding troops, and transient persons and Indians	By more recent estimates, excluding Indians	Excluding Indians	Including Indians	
Buenos Ayres	98,105	105,000	120,000	250,000	
Cordova	. .	75,000	75,000	100,000	
Tucuman	. .	45,000	45,000	20,000	probably the town only.
Santiago del Estero	. .	45,000	60,000		
Valle de Calamarca	. .	36,000	40,000		
Rioja	. .	20,000	20,000		
San Juan	. .	34,000	34,000		
Mendoza	. .	38,000	38,000		
San Luis	. .	16,000	16,000		
Injuy	. .	25,000	25,000		
Salta	. .	50,000	50,000		
		489,000	523,000		

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Estimate of population—continued.

Provinces of Upper Peru					
Cochabamba			100,000	120,000	260,000	
Potosi			112,000	112,000	250,000	
Plata, or Choreas			112,000	112,000	175,000	
La Paz					300,000	
Puno	under the name of Santa Cruz de la Sierra		120,000		80,000 150,000	under the various names of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Majos, and Chequitos.
	Ouiro				50,000	
Paraguay					300,000	
Banda Oriental, and Entre Rios			50,000			

Note. It is not understood that any part of the province of Corrientes, or that of the city, or district of Santa Fee is included in this estimate; and some districts of some of the other provinces may be omitted.

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A.

Historical sketch of the revolution of the United Provinces of South America, from the 25th of May 1810, *until the opening of the National Congress, on the 25th of March* 1816, *written by Dr. Gregorio Funes, and appended to his history of Buenos Ayres, Paraquay, and Tucuman.*

It is the advice of a sage, that the history of revolutions should be written, neither so long after they have happened, that many of their events will be forgotten, nor so immediately after they have occurred, as to preclude it from being executed with the requisite impartiality. In the last case, all who read it, setting in judgment upon it, approve or condemn accordiug to their feelings, and in consequence it is deemed a chaos of uncertainties. We have therefore, determined to give merely a sketch of the revolution, and to refrain from such narration, as would perhaps revive animosities which patriots wish never to see renewed.

1810.

A succession of reverses had deranged all the plans of defence adopted by Spain to resist the attacks of France. The pass of Sierra Morena, being forced, the army of the enemy extended its conquests to the Island of Leon. Affairs were in this desperate situation, when the timorous Cisneros addressed his celebrated proclamation to the people, more for the sake of repelling the danger which menaced his authority, than of furnishing them rules to regulate their conduct, in case of the French succeeding in their ambitious designs against the mother country. A martyr to the suspicions, to which he had given himself up, as if he disdained artifice, he endeavored to gain credit with the people, by palming upon them his statement of the utter imbecility of Spain, which they knew as well as he, for noble sincerity. In fine he descended to propose a plan of national representation, as remote from justice as from utility.

This was a conjuncture which the people of Buenos Ayres anxiously expected. That period had long passed away, when America, without any object with which to compare herself, had believed men bound implicitly to be guided by the maxims of their predecessors. The revolution of North America and the recent one of France, had revived among us the natural rights of man. The same regency although thereby doing violence to its feelings, said to us, "that we were elevated to the dignity of freemen, that we were not like our ancestors oppressed by a yoke, rendered more galling by their distance from the centre of power,

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viewed with indifference, and made vile by ignorance." In fine, in the re-conquest of Buenos Ayres, by expelling the English, we had made trial of our strength, and convinced that we might now safely cast off the leading strings of infancy. He believed that this was the time to shake off the authority of a decrepid and tyrannical mother. We were also impelled to this measure from its appearing probable that Napoleon would render permanent the government he had established in Spain.

A number of brave men (1) united themselves secretly for the purpose of extirpating tyranny, and at the risk of their tranquillity and fortune and life, formed the plan of this revolution. Though destitute of military force, they dared provoke a powerful vice roy; without experience, they yet lulled to sleep the vigilance of their governors; without money, they gained over many of the soldiery; without authority, they reigned in the hearts of their fellow citizens. This being the situation of things, the vulcano at last burst forth; a junta of nine persons, with full powers, (2) assembled on the 25th May, 1810, agreeably to the summons of Cisneros, the vice roy. This was the first step in our revolution, a revolution affected without bloodshed, maintained by success, ardently desired by the good, and capable of producing the happiest effects.

Although the considerations we have mentioned, would have justified the declaration of independence, the capital did not proceed to this extremity; it considered, that to pass at once, the immense interval between slavery and liberty would be a premature measure, and contrary to the inviolable law of nature, that improvement shall be gradual.

Besides this, although they knew that the enjoyment of the social rights was an object so dear to the hearts of many Americans; it knew also, that there were among them some timid men, who, exposing themselves to universal derision, reprobated the good purchased by any other than pacific means; others, who, destitute of love of country, were stangers to the most heroic passions; and others, so unenlightened, as to deem servitude their natural and proper state.

As well to make an experiment upon these dissimilar classes of men, as to leave the great measure of declaring independence untried, till events should render it expedient; the capital limited itself, for the present, to the only plan sanctioned by prudence. This was, that the provinces in the name of Ferdinand the VII should assume the direction of public affairs. Every thing prompted us to this innovation: the Peninsular government, its springs having lost their elasticity, appeared insufficient to secure the existence of the nation. The very provinces of Spain, were, more or less, in open opposition to her authority: her govermental orders were either entirely violated or imperfectly obeyed: this monarchy was completely unhinged: the component parts of this vast body politic, were as widely dispersed, that they could have no tie capable of binding them together.

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This want of union rendered the nation weak; it was doubtful whether the central junta, could of itself, establish a regency; in fine, America was an integral part of the monarchy, and enjoyed equal rights with Spain.

This innovation excited greatly the feelings of the people, and gave birth to as little speculation. Men, who had submitted without a murmur, to be treated as slaves, blessed the moment when, at least, they were no longer instrumental to their own sufferings. But on the other hand, interest and arrogance caused the European Spaniards to regard with rage the newly awakened energy of a people they had long contemned; an energy which menaced them with the deprivation of office and influence.

The *Oidores* of Buenos Ayres, were the first who manifested a disgust, unbounded and promotive of insubordination. The junta excluded from the government certain individuals, (3) regardless of every thing but self-interest; for them it substituted others more worthy.

The royal marine, characterized by ignorance, and indocility, also gave loose to selfish passions; it retired to Monte Video, endeavored to stir up the people to insurrection; implored succors from Brazil, dispersed the army, imprisoned its chiefs, even sent them to Spain; in fine, threw all things into confusion.

The state was upon the eve of a civil war. Linea, Monte Video, Paraguay, the chiefs of Cordova, Potosi, and Charcas, prepared themselves for a bloody contest with the capital and its adherents. But their animosity excited vigilance in the government, and enthusiasm in the patriots.

To guide the people in the novel and daring career upon which they had entered, the government and the clergy furnished them with productions written with ability and with energy. To enlighten the public, and consequently to triumph over the errors of education, was deemed a sacred duty. The conduct of the ecclesiasticts was particularly praiseworthy, since they acted in opposition to the bishops of their diocesses, more occupied with the advantages of posts, they feared to lose, than interested for their flocks.

As the provincial chiefs, in opposition to the government, were deaf to persuasion, it determined to obtain by force for the people the enjoyment of their rights. It organized an auxiliary expedition to operate against the enemies of liberty in the interior provinces. At this very time, Concha, governor of Cordova, and the bishop Orellana, excited by the ardent Liniers, viewed the revolution as a criminal enterprise against the state, and excited the people to disobedience and to vengeance. To cure them of this phrensy, and to convince them that they were laboring for their own ruin, and that of the people, my opinion, delivered in a junta, (4) was ineffectual. At last, these deluded men discovered, to their cost, that they were struggling in an unknown sea, against a tempest, they could not

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withstand. Abandoned by their own soldiers, who never heartily embraced their cause, they were taken prisoners. (5)

The junta determined to cement the revolutionary government, with the blood of those mistaken men, and thus to terrify into silence, the enemies of freedom. When informed of this resolve, my surprize and grief were equally great. It was on the eve of its execution, that I was informed of this determination. To avert from a cause, so far untainted by injustice, the imputation of atrocity, nay, even of sacrilege, for those accustomed to kneel before their bishops, would have deemed this act: To prevent the secession from the patriot cause of many reputable and influential families, (6) whose reputation and feelings, such an execution would have deeply wounded; in fine, impelled by humanity, I felt bound to urge these reasons upon Don Francisco Antonio Ocampo, and Don Hipoleto Vieytes, chiefs of the expedition, and to supplicate the suspension of so odious a sentence. The impression which these reasons and others added by my brother, Don Ambrosio Funes, made upon their minds, produced the desired effect, a few hours before the time appointed to inflict the punishment. The government deemed this extreme moderation, incompatible with the security of the state: The blockade of the capital by the royal marine from Monte Video, the intrigues of the European Spaniards, ever on the alert; in fine, opinions in favor of Liniers, whispered among our troops, the companions of his dangers and his glory, compelled the government to choose, between the death of these conspirators, and the ruin of dawning liberty. Placed in this dilemma, from a sense of duty, it did violence to its feelings, and confirmed the sentence, except that part relating to the bishop. Thus died prematurely men, who in other times might have been useful citizens. (7)

Among the chiefs, assembled by Concha and Liniers, the most conspicuous were Sans, governor of Potosi, and Nieto, president of Charcas. Nieto, licentious as was ever any minion of tyranny, oppressed with vexations, each garrison under his command, imprisoning the soldiers in caverns, and even condemning them to toil in bake houses. Thus, this idiot expected to prop the tottering fabric of slavery, and to perpetuate meanness of spirit and misery. While these and other events agitated the centre of Peru, the junta gave additional respectability to the auxiliary expedition. Casteli having resigned the command, Don Antonio Balcarce, was appointed in his stead. The victory of Suipacha put an end to the enterprises of certain rash men. The major general, Cordoba, Sans, and Nieto, were shortly after put to death.

It was not so much from external obstacles, as from a weakness, common to all states in times of revolution, that our affairs were not always prosperous. It must be perceived, that we are now about to speak from intestine dissentions. When we threw off the yoke, we thought that in organizing a government, it was impossible to re-

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cede too much from the tyranny which had caused our sufferings and our shame. A youth of talents and information, says a modern author, astonished at reading in each page of the ancients, a diary of what passed before his eyes in the late French revolution, happily thought of writing its history with passages extracted from these authors; and without any other labor, than that of citation, composed an original work. So true it is, adds he, that there are no annals, more authentic and instructive, than those of the human heart. When we attentively consider our dissentions, it appears as if Cicero, and Tacitus, and Sallust were their historians.

Governments, destitute of solid foundations, will always be playthings. Scarcely had the first junta begun to exercise its authority, when the clounds gathered and the lightnings flashed around them. One germ of discontent, not dissembled, was exclusion from a share in command of the deputies of the people, appointed to give a legal existence and form to the new political (8) structure. This exclusion excited personal resentments; and those who deemed themselves injured, endeavored to avenge themselves in the name of the public weal. The events which occurred in consequence will be recounted in the course of this sketch.

These provinces were now theatres of civil war. The Paraguayans had not yet resolved to sacrafice a tranquil slavery for a liberty precarious and *tumultuary*. The first junta perceived that this state of that province was the consequence of fears, inspired by its governor Velasco, and felt it a sacred duty to open its eyes to its interest and honor. This was the object of another expedition commanded by Don Manuel Belgrano. It was at first unsuccessful, but what three bloody battles failed to win, was the fruit of a negotiation, most sagaciously conducted by the general. The Paraguayans began to be persuaded, that the zeal of Velazco, was refined selfishness, obedience to him, meanness of spirit, and submission to Spain contrary to the public good. The movements of the enemy at Monte Video, until now, though seditious, were unimportant. The arrival there of a viceroy for Buenos Ayres, inspired the hope of humbling us.—Idiots! to indulge such hope. We knew Elio and counted upon his follies as most efficient auxiliaries. This soldier, whose motto was "boldness," promised the regency to convert the capital into a dungeon of slaves. It was natural that silly and extravagant expectations, should be indulged and promulged to his employers by a vice roy incompetent to fill the most petty office. Elio had the insolence to require the junta to recognize him; but this body treated his demand with the contempt it deserved.

1811.

In consequence of this repulse, Elio declared the junta rebellious and answerable for all the blood that might be shed in the contest.—

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His first effort was to reduce the Orientals to obedience. But these brave men taught him what daring spirits, in robust bodies, could effect. The conquest of Gualeguaichu and the victory at Soriano, were merely preludes to actions more glorious.

Certainly the fury of Elio was far less dreadful to the state, than the internal dissentions which now convulsed it; while the junta of deputies, labored in performance of its duties, new plots were hatched, during a repose which was *compulsatory*, by a rival party.—It was attempted by black calumny, to abuse credulity in order to render the deputies suspected. It was whispered that they intended to sell their country to the Portuguese for money and office. A base slander (9) which never would have obtained believers, were it not true at all times that the great characteristic in party, is blind deference to leaders. The junta did not yield to this persecution—but the deputies, stigmatized as traitors and tyrants, opposed no other shield against calumny, than a faithful discharge of duty.

Nevertheless they were still victims of detraction when a revolution, known as that of the 5th and 6th of April, in which the government had no share, took place. This event afforded no pleasure to the junta—It knew that in the ordinary course of the passions one revolution engenders others of the same kind, for when parties are once formed, interest and justice become with them convertible terms. The junta had always been persuaded, that the true object of the revolution onght to be to secure the people the advantages of a free government. It held the opinion, that persons in authority if unrestrained by the jealous and unceasing attention of colleagues, invariably become corrupt. That after being guilty of usurpations, to become despotic became necessary to insure impunity: And that from violations of the laws to despotism, is but a step. Supported by these reasons, and the unanimous vote of the people, it introduced the government of juntas into all the provinces.

Animated by the same spirit, it introduced also *the liberty of the press*. The junta was of opinion, that the time had arrived, when thought ought no longer to be imprisoned by the will of the magistrate, who in the words of a celebrated genius, with the cord that binds it in his hand, measures and fixes the distance of its flight.

These cases were succeeded by others of a different nature and importance. To excite the Orientals to resist their foe, and not to be at the mercy of the furious Elio and his rapacious followers, among the different objects, soliciting attention, deserve the preference. By repeating frequently, the words Sparta, Rome, liberty, patriotism, and by aid lavish and opportune, we had at last the consolation of interesting them in the salvation of the country. The taking of Canelones by Don Benancio Benovidez, and the victory of San Jose, gained by the troops of Don Jose Artigas, will always excite delightful feelings. But the junta expected to gather the best fruits after, from policy, it had transferred the command of the army and sent re-

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inforcements to colonel Don Jose Rondeau; nor was it deceived.—The towns of Minas, San Carlos and Maldonado yielded successively to the conqueror Don Manuel Artigas, and the Orientals rising in mass, invested the walls of Monte Video. Success so brilliant filled Elio with consternation, and made him deem it necessary to stop the patriots, in their prosperous career, by some great effort. Twelve hundred of his best troops, with a great train of artillery, occupied Piedras. Notwithstanding their superiority in numbers, arms, situation and discipline, they were conquered by men, who, animated by the glory of conquering, forgot their nakedness, weariness and all the horrors of death. The general, Don Jose Artigas, manifested on this occasion that ardour and coolness with which he inflamed or moderated the passions of his troops as circumstances required.

These victories and general Rondeau's removal of his head quarters to Mercedeo, for the purpose of besieging Monte Vedeo, filled Elio, till then over confident, with despair. He inquired of the junta if an accommodation were possible, and offered to purchase even with the humiliating sacrafice of his office; while the junta was deliberating upon this proposal, it received intelligence that Paraguay had at last awakened from its lethargy, and turned against its oppressors arms placed in the hands of its sons, in order to be used against the country, thus profiting by its error. This pleasing information produced a reply to Elio, which shewed him that nothing remained for him but submission.

This energetic reply lighted up anew his flame of war. Elio, hearkening alone to the rage which filled his bosom prepared to bombard the capital. Michelena, with a squadron of five ships, appeared off the harbor and informed the junta of his hostile intent. This body unintimidated boldly answered in reply, "Proceed and receive practical lessons of the energy of a people, whose courage and resources are incalculable." The bombardment was executed but with more injury to the enemy than to the capital.

It is now time to turn our eyes to the army of Peru. Thus far it was successful. Casteli with six thousand men under his command in the vicinity of Desaguedero, expected decisive events, which would cover our arms with glory: (10) But, instead of adopting measures suitable to his circumstances, he entered into useless negotiations, and obtained an armistice which Goyeneche perfidiously turned to his own advantage. Six days before it expired, the armies of the country were attacked in Guagy and Chibiraga, points, distinct and distant from each other. In the first battle the enemy was victorious; in the second (at Chibiraga) neither party conquered; but the dispersion of our army left the foe master of the field of battle on the following day. Our auxiliary expedition, being thus unfortunate, the enemies became masters of upper Peru. The junta was undismayed by this reverse of fortune. In its proclamation to the people, it reminded them that the Roman Senate after the defeat at Cana, thanked

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the consul Varro, for not despairing of the republic, and declared that it did not despair. This proclamation circulated throughout the country, roused the people to generous exertions.

It is proper here to narrate the capture of the Island of *Rotas.*— The besieging army of Mont Video was greatly in want of powder, and this island contained a quantity equal to what it required. Although the attack was extremely hazardous, it was made with sagacity and valor by Don Jose Quesado, commander of our troops, and crowned with success. He abandoned it after spiking the cannon, bringing with him twenty quintals of powder.

We had not only to contend against the Spanish troops, but also to be on our guard against a stranger whose ambition was well known. Our revolution had early awakened the policy of the Portuguese, and the court of Brazil under the pretext of preserving in favor of Ferdinand the 7th, the integrity of his dominions, desired to get possession of his South American territories in order to secure the rights which might accrue to the Princess Carlota. The junta considered that if Portugal refrained from doing what both her fears and her ambition prompted, it would be a phenominan in history.— It therefore, mistrusted this power, and took all the precautions, prudence dictated to resist Elio's demands for assistance unavailing.

The court of Brazil caused its troops to enter the territory of the state, but, before it resorted to arms, made experiment of what it could effect by policy. Removing at last the veil that had enveloped its designs, it proposed to the junta to purchase by voluntary submission, its acknowledgment of the independence of La Plata and its solemn engagement that even if Ferdinad recovered the Spanish throne, it should not be again subjected to the authority of the mother country. The junta considered that it would merit public hatred and vengeance, should it hearken favorably to a proposal with which it could not comply without imbecility and baseness. Although, since the victory of Goyeneche had made him master of Peru, almost environed with foes, the junta thought only of putting into requisition all the resources of the country, and when these failed to bury itself beneath its ruins. A little less folly on the part of Elio, would have placed him in a situation to open a negotiation (as he proposed) with the junta, to have assisted and been assisted by it against the Portuguese, and to have settled satisfactorily all matters in controversy. From the various sources for bettering the situation of the country which suggested themselves to the junta, it selected that of reforming the government. We had long experienced the evils of a system disproportioned incapable of commanding means edequate to the ends to be effected, and destitute of the power necessary for putting in motion, and directing the machine of government. The exclusion of the deputies from a share in the government, which we have before related, may have resulted from artifice, precipitation or other cause; but it is certain that to have admitted them all, would have been incom-

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patible with the secrecy, celerity and vigor, without which to govern well is impossible. To obviate the inconveniences resulting from the want of these essentials, the junta determined to create an executive power which, in the language of the sapient Neckar, "Should in the body politic represent that mysterious power which in man causes the action to correspond with the will." The consideration that when the executive authority has no just limits, the state is but a confused heap of oppressors and oppressed, induced the junta in order to temper it to reserve to itself with the title *guardian of the public rights*, the power of legislation, not however to its full extent, for it could be thus exercised only by a national congress, but merely to provide for exigencies, to restain the operation of laws prejudicial to the state, to deliberate upon important affairs, and to calm the distrust in their governors with which growing fondness for liberty inspired the people.

With these limitations, the junta created an executive power, vested in three persons, who were Dr. Don Juan Jose Paso, Don Feliciano Chiclana, and Don Manuel Sarratia. If these new magistrates would have respected the barriers that limited their power, they would have spared the capital a tumult, the deputies an affront, and their own reputations a death-wound. From a reprehensible desire of authority without the proper counterpoise, they stigmatized the regulation made by the deputies, in virtue of the power they had reserved, "as a code calculated to precipitate the country into the abyss of ruin." The deputies being made the victims of public disorder, their place in the government remained vacant. The manifests issued in justification of this measure could easily have been refuted, but the deputies, aware, that when the feelings of the people are in a state of irritation, it is in vain to appeal to them for justice, wisely trusted their defence to events, which, they were confident, would sooner or later, make apparent their innocence. They did not miscalculate: for the prosperity subsequently enjoyed by the country under a political system, very simliar to the one they proposed, has completely refuted the calumnies of their adversaries.

It is impossible in a sketch like the present, to give a full view of the perturbed state in which this violent measure left the capital. It was divided into factions familiar with every kind of petty artifice. Bitter invectives, false relations, exagerated fears, were employed to obtain whatever they deemed promotive of their interests. "Each party" says an intelligent observer, "strengthens itself by railing at, and calumniating its opponents. Party zeal gives reputation to factions, and to be deemed by them a man of worth, it is sufficient to be one of them." The most despicable persons were selected for chiefs, for the absence of talent and honesty ensured their *innocuousness*. The situation of the capital was truly deplorable.

In this state of things, the sergeants, corporals, and soldiers, of the first regiment, openly mutinied and jeopardized their safety, by in-

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discreetly attempting to prevail against their officers. The capital was converted into a field of battle. The mutineers were compelled to surrender, and eleven of their number were executed to punish this outrage against the laws. The government did not confirm their sentence with dry eyes, but it knew that rulers invariably bring their authority into contempt by giving impunity to criminals.

Fear and trouble mingle with the very elements of unstable governments. The deputies of the people retired to their hearths, after they were left at liberty to do so, by their exclusion on the 5th and 6th of April from the government. The intractable Bishop Orellana by his hypocrisy, obtained his restoration to a chair from which his crimes excluded him. These occurrences augmented distrust and jealousy. When government adheres to a party, it makes, says a sage, the political bark to incline to one side and accelerate a shipwreck in which it is also lost. It is true though, adds he, that neutrality is not always warranted by justice, but rather by ambition, which standing aloof from disorders, draws from them its greatest advantages.

While the bosom of the country was thus torn to pieces, the extremities were in no better condition. It is certain that in consequence of an almost general insurrection of the Indians, the district of Paz was recovered, the city besieged, and the army of Lombera routed: it is also true, that the brave Don Estevan Arce, made himself master of Cochabamba. But notwithstanding these triumphs, the conqueror of Guaqui, retained his conquest. The retreat made from Potosi by Colonel Don Juan Martin and Pueyrredon, with the remnant of the army and wealth of the country, was executed so heroically, that it deserves to be taken for a model. It is only given to intrepid spirits to make themselves respected in the hour of danger.

The Banda Oriental presented nothing which could tranquilize us. It is true, that the Portuguese, though acting with their accustomed dissimulation, had not gathered its expected fruits. Their troops had approached Monte Video, with the hope that circumstances opening to them the gates, she would change her language even if her feelings remained unchanged. Experience shewed that the projects of cabinets sometimes fail. A treaty of peace made between this city and the capital, by which it was agreed, that upon our troops raising the siege and retiring beyond the Uruguay, the Portuguese should evacuate the Banda Oriental, disconcerted all their plans. Still they did not despair. As remarkable for perfidy as we for good faith, by a scandalous invasion on their part, they renewed the war, and gave the troops of General Aartigas an opportunity of shewing these foes that none offended them with impunity. It was evident, that to obtain Monte Video was the object of the Portuguese. Their seductive influence induced her to break the treaty and renew the blockade of the capital.

It is only the pusillanimous that are disheartened by danger. *Men* count the number of their efforts by their reverses. Fortune en-

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ters into their calculations in doubtful cases, but they rely solely on virtue. The government, convinced that victory is not essential, and that brave men when reduced to the greatest straits, are most efficient undismayed, strained every nerve to save us The scarcity of money was supplied by a confiscation of enemy's property, and an annual contribution of six hundred and thirty-eight thousand dollars; an *estado major general* was created; a methodical plan furnished for reforming the army; subordination was better established, the liberty of the press confirmed. The army of Peru reinforced, and additional troops opposed to the coalition of our enemies.

While these measures were adopting, a new occurrence relighted the torch of discord in the capital. By a regulation of the executive power, an assembly to meet at stated periods was organized, for the object of deliberating, during a session positively limited to eight days, upon great state affairs, and of selecting every six months a successor to the chief of the government, whose term of service expired. As love of liberty had generated inquietude and distrust, it was difficult to take any step without interrupting tranquillity. Don Juan Martin Puerreydon was elected. The assembly considered that it could not without imbecility refrain from assuming supremacy over the general government and all the provinces of the union. This was stigmatized by the executive as an excess subversive of the law, which gave this body being. The assembly urged that the law cited against them was the work of force; force terminated the contest, the assembly was dissolved, and the citizens still more disunited.

Discord, the tendency of which is to subvert all authority, debilitates the state. But this does not happen when it is awakened by love of liberty. Nothing is more natural than that the people should observe with fear, the hand which governs them, but it is a fear neither enervating courage, nor weakening understanding. The confusion, into which general Arce, after the rout at Astete, and general Artigas, after a victory over a division of Portuguese, put the generals Goyeneche and Sousa, ought to have made them know, that attempts against liberty, are always vain. The court of Brazil, convinced of this truth, perceived that it would be best for it to be upon terms of amity with us. It, therefore, by its plenipotentiary, Don Juan de Redemarker, submitted proposals to us, to which, under the guarauty of Great Britain, we acceded.

Although Goyeneche, in Upper Peru, was filled with grief by the desertion of his troops, and other repeated misfortunes; pride would not permit him to abandon his conquest. Thus circumstanced, availing himself of our retreat to Tucuman, from the right bank of the river Suipacha, he resolved to attempt the conquest of Cochabamba. With the greatest and best of part of his troops, he marched, routed general Arce, and approached the city. Antezana, president of its junta, perceiving himself without resources, offered submission, and implored the clemency of the conqueror. This proceeding,

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though prudent, was viewed with extreme disgust by a magnanimous people, who had acquired so much glory. Although destitute of solid support, they preferred the horrors of war, to the advantages of a humiliating peace, and commenced an irregular fight, in which the women (12) intermingled with the men. The contest was very unequal: after some resistance, they yielded with considerable loss. This gallantry was sufficient to incite Goyeneche to the most base and cruel vengeance. The town was delivered up to plunder for three hours, which afforded opportunity for the commission of every sort of crime. That the soldiers should have been guilty of monstrous excess, is not surprising, since (13) Goyeneche himself, incited them by his example. It is a fact, well authenticated, that entering with one half of his cavalry, the gate of the mother church, the sacrament being exposed, he killed, with a stroke of his sword, the Fiscal Lopez Andreu, who presented it trembling with terror.

He then pursued boldly, the several precedents of tyrants: by banishments, confiscations and executions, this homicide, rivalled Nero in infamy. In the places subjected to his yoke, a gesture, a clouded visage, an indiscreet word, a tear, stealing down the cheek, was a crime of state. It may be remembered, that eleven of the dispersed soldiers of general Arce, were sacrificed to his vengeance at Chuquisaca. It was necessary for the timid to be encompassed by men like themselves that they might not encounter, on which ever side they turned, this head of Medusa which froze the heart. But, in general, he failed to obtain the expected fruit from his barbarous policy. He inspired more hatred than terror. On all sides his troops were attacked with fury.

While we are drawing near the moment, when the arms of the country achieved more important victories over the enemy, let us notice other successes, more nearly relating to the capital.

The measures of the Portuguese we last mentioned, and the obstinate resistance of Monte Video, induced the government, to send Don Manual Sarratea to the other side of the river, as its representative and general. The primary object of this mission, was to renew the seige of Monte Video, and to set limits to extravagant pride. The success of this undertaking depended upon the cooperation of the eastern with the western troops. But the appointment of Sarratea was not approved by general Artigas, and his jealousy impeded the execution of this project. But at last, after some opposition from Agui and Salto Chico, the union, which should ever subsist between the several members of the same state, was in fact obtained. Some troops joined the army, though slowly, and bodies of men were stationed in the vicinity of Monte Video, by general Rondeau. The governor, Vigodet, perceived that this new siege, was about to produce inevitable misfortune. Knowing that all our forces had not united, he formed the design of surprising our camp, and executed it with vivacity, at the head of two thousand men. In this history

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are recorded, few days more glorious, than the 31st of December, 1812, in which our general, his subalterns, Soler, Ortiguera, Quintana, Eocalada and other officers, manifested a valor and intelligence worthy our cause. Their efforts made the audacity of the enemy degenerate into cowardice. Being very roughly handled, the foe retreated, leaving dead on the field of battle, major general Muesas, with many officers and soldiers. Many prisoners were taken.

It was decreed that our freedom should be purchased with blood and with danger. The rejoicings for this victory were mingled with astonishment at the discovery of a most atrocious plot. A considerable number of European Spaniards, resident in Buenos Ayres, had confederated to cover it with havoc and mourning. These perfidious associates held their treasonable meetings in profound secrecy, and adjusted a plan so inhuman, that posterity will be unable to read the account of it without shuddering. The members of the government, the magistrates, the most zealous Americans, and even European Spaniards, friendly to independence, were to be beheaded on the scaffold. Those who escaped from the carnage, were to be banished from their habitations, to make room for Spaniards from the interior. The provinces, these assassins expected, would speedily be subjugated to their authority. Martin de Alzaga, a man formed by nature for crimes of this sort, had the direction and execution of this atrocious conspiracy confided to him. For the sake of humanity, the tutelar genius of the country defeated the plan of these conspirators. At the very instant they were issuing forth to commence the work of desolation, they were discovered and arrested sword in hand. When this affair became public, indignation could be read in every countenance. By the assistance of the citizens, the principal criminals were apprehended. The government subjecting these disturbers of the public peace to the utmost rigor of the law, inflicted on those the punishment they designed for others.

While we were rejoicing at our escape from so attrocious a plot, we were still apprensive of being assailed by an army, which, considering our weakness as part of its strength, menaced us from Jujuy and Salta. Three thousand men, with three pieces of artillery, commanded by general Don Pio de Trestan, a native of Arequipa, and second in command of Goyeneche, fell upon our army of Tucuman, amounting to only sixteen hundred soldiers, the greatest part of them heard in this battle for the first time the whistling of balls. Only the most daring could hope for victory. General Belgrano, who united the most insinuating sweetness of manners, with the most rigid justice, possessing too the art of penetrating the designs of the enemy, and concealing his own, at the head of a patriotic band of the vicinity, decided the fortune of the day. Colonel Don Raymon Balcarce, also signalized himself; where the battle most raged, there was he to be found. The other officers also entitled themselves to their country's gratitude. As if they had not been humbled in the action of the 24th

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of September, the enemy offered us a new insult on the following day. Conquered as they were, without artillery, munitions or baggage, they dared demand the surrender of a town to which the infantry had retired with part of the cavalry. The major general Don Eustoquio Diaz Velez, who commanded there, was one of those men who live only for their country. This energetic reply put to flight the hope, which the enemies were silly enough to indulge, and forced them to a disorderly and shameful retreat.

The news of this memorable victory reached the capital, when it was convulsed by a new commotion. The spirit of party we have so much lamented, on every change in the government produced some disturbance. In this state of things, says an elegant observer, no one grasped the command but an adventurer, destined to fall by reason of his very elevation. To give a successor to the chief of the government, whose term of service expired, the assembly met and chose Dr. Don Pedro Medrano—a popular commotion ensued. The consistorial assembly re-assumed the authorities of the people—a new government was appointed, composed of the citizens Don Juan Jose Paso, Don Nicholas Pena, and Don Antonio Albares Jonte and was recognized.

Power is a mere nullity, if those, who ought to obey it, think that in all cases they have a right to set in judgment upon what it commands. This was the situation of the state. Instead of having recourse to the energetic measures necessary to support governments, the new government weakly resorted to decrying the one which had been subverted, to promising great advantages from the subsisting one. It believed that a general assembly with unlimited powers was indispensably necessary, to give constitutional existence to the state, and summonses were issued for this purpose.

This step being taken, it turned its attention to the internal and external security of the state. The European Spaniards had not taken learning from the examplary chastisements we had inflicted upon them. More obstinate than ever they confederated again for our destruction; the conspiracy was discovered, five of the traitors were executed, and their bodies exposed to public view, as a salutary warning to rash men.

1813.

This desperate plot originated in a criminal combination between the Spaniards resident in Buenos Ayres and Monte Video. Terrified by the siege of the last mentioned place and goaded by pride, upon Don Manuel Sarratea's withdrawing from the command, terminated that quarrel, which, the empoisoned source of a thousand evils, prevented the complete re-union of the Oriental troops with the besieging army. The besieged, who always retained the hope of profiting by our discord, were filled with consternation by the defeat of this conspi-

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racy. Ever obstinate, they repeated their sallies, but the besiegers, headed by Soler, Villasino, Terrado, Cruz, Ortiguena and French, repelled them all.

The possession of Monte Video was important to the Spaniards, in prosecuting their scheme of subjugating us. Availing themselves of their marine they infested our coasts, and endeavored to recover in brutal inroads, the reputation they had lost in regular campaigns. With the confidence their superiority inspired, they landed two hundred and fifty men in the vicinity of San Lorenzo. They speedily perceived that they had landed only to augment their misfortunes. Attacked by a force as inferior in numbers, as superior to them in bravery by general San Martin, who contemning death, knew how to win the favors of inconstant fortune, they were completely routed.

This victory was soon followed by that gained by the arms of the country, over the army of Tristan. This general fortified in the city of Salta, perhaps, hoped to repair his past misfortunes by future success, in his criminal designs against his country. The conqueror of Tucuman sought him there with his army, filled with the enthusiasm liberty inspires. The signal for battle was given, and it continued for three hours and a half. The combatants availing themselves of all that genius, science, valor, nay even desperation could contribute to victory; we at last gained the battle. In the heat of the fight, major general Dioz Velez, was severely wounded, but not prizing so much a prolongation of his days, as to risk for it the loss of the battle, he concealed his wound and remained on the field, until his strength entirely failing him, he was forced to retire. In this action general Don Martin Rodriguez and the *commandantes de division*, Donego, Saperi, Pico, Forest, Alvarez, Pedriel, Zelaga, Balcarce, Rrodriguez, Arivalo, &c. were much distinguished. General Belgrano, being strongly urged by Tristan and his troops to set them at liberty, complied. This general, doubtless, thought it would be glorious, to give freedom to men who had endeavored to enslave us, and that it would be impolitic to let slip an opportunity of conquering by clemency, the hearts of those whose bodies his brave troops had by force subdued. For this and other generous acts, they made a base return. Freed from captivity, they employed in seducing the people, the time they ought to have devoted to proclaiming our generosity, and manifesting their gratitude.

After the victory of Salta, the tyrant Goyeneche fled precipitately to Oruro, thus relieving from suffering Potosi, Charcas, Cochabamba, Santa Cruz De la Sierra and other places. The fear this defeat inspired, caused him to supplicate general Belgrano for an armistice. The moderation of this officer, which no success could effect, induced him to grant it, but the perfidy of Goyeneche soon frustrated it.

Our country was now advancing by rapid strides to independence, we were led to think so from these victories, and principally

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because the national assembly was organized and commenced its session on the 31st of January, 1813. This body thought it a glaring inconsistency, for the nation to make such sacrafices for liberty, and still to shelter slavery in its bosom. The situation of the country not permitting this evil to be corrected at once, this assembly decreed, that from the day of its creation, all children of slaves should be born free; thus in part repairing the injury committed against nature, and immortalizing its birth day.

It did itself no less honor by the abolition of *tributo* and *mita*, which were odious permissions to commit every species of crime, and the abolition of which had been decreed in 1811. These beneficent measures were no less politic than just. The Indians, whose services we needed, were thus conciliated.

The celebrated victory of Salta filled with surprise the vice roy of Lima, and made him resort to the usual measures of alarmed despotism. The general Pezuela, took the command of the army of Goyeneche, and with a reinforcement, took up his head quarters at Oruro. Pezuela undoubtedly possessed military talents far superior to those of Goyeneche, and if towns which had sworn to be free, could have been subdued, he would have achieved the odious victory.

All measures preparatory to a battle between the opposing armies were taken. The victory gained and the flame kindled by the spark of liberty in all parts, not even excepting Lima, presaged a happy issue to the patriots. But perhaps, to give us lessons of moderation and prudence, the Almighty decreed that we should lose the battles of Vilcapugio and Hayouma. Upper Peru was thus snatched from our hands. Pezuela extended his conquests even to Juguy and Salta, and the remnant of our army took shelter in its former place of refuge, Tucuman.

But this imprudent contest could not impede nature in her course. Our felicity was the offspring of reverses, which corrected our inexperience. From this fatal moment, a new enthusiasm for the country, and a new order of things gradually established, produced the happiest effects. The Cochabambinos, full of the fury desperation inspires, retired to Valle-Grande. Although one of the reverses incident to warfare had tried their fortitude, the victory of Florida gained over a body of one thousand men, by general Warnes, in conjunction with his cruecenos, checked the daring march of our forces. The flame was rapidly communicated. The same Warnes marched to Chiquitos, where he shut himself up with the royal troops. General Camargo defended himself in Chayanta, destroyed several detached parties and preserved the province from the detested yoke. Padilla established his head quarters at Yampames, routed Tacon, in many encounters, and changed the aspect of the enemy's affairs. The Indians made great exertions to prevent the yoke from

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which they had escaped, being again imposed upon them, and tasted the pure pleasures of liberty.

After garrisoning several places in Peru, Pezuela brought a force equal to what he left there, to Juguy and Salta. Parties of the inhabitants under the orders of the captain Seravia, and of the advance under their *commandante* Guemez, after the droves of horses, and provisions had been withdrawn to places inaccessible to the enemy, attacked them whenever they moved, and wherever they were posted. Those of the enemy, who imprudently left the main body of their forces, were instantly made prisoners by our parties. Never was partizan warfare better conducted, and more successful. general Pezuela saw with bitterness his laurels wither, and to escape the ruin with which a half starved army menaced him, retreated, first, to his ancient posts, and there, filled with apprehension, retired to Peru to succour there the terrified royalists.

He misled some patriots by blandishments, places, and promises, but always distrusting them, kept them in subaltern stations, although the importance of their services entitled them to the first offices. One of these, Don Saturnio Castro, a native of Salta, whose efforts had cost his country dear, felt his indignation redoubled, when he cast his eyes upon his wounds, and impelled by wounded self-love, hearkened to the salutary councils of reason. In this state of mind, he determined to avenge his country, and himself, by a plot against the oppressors. It was discovered, its author arrested, and condemned to death.

Pezuela was unnecessarily cruel and vindictive. Enthusiasm for the country daily gained ground. The city of Cusco at last sundered its chains, and new Peruvian heroes espoused the cause. Pinelo, the *presbitero*, Dr. Munecas, the king's brigadier, Pumakagua, and Angulo, joined the patriots, and caused an almost general revolution in public opinion. The two first triumphed at La Paz, but their lives and those of their troops were more endangered after the victory, than during the battle. The enthusiastic Spaniards conceived the project of burying them under the ruins of their laurels. These barbarians had familiarized themselves with every species of crime. They poisoned the springs, and formed two mines, for the destruction of the patriots. Their foresight was not sufficient to apprise them of the horrors that environed them. One of these mines exploded, and the death of a hundred and fifty persons (some say three hundred) was the melancholy result of this treachery. The people who could only think of taking vengeance for this last, and worst of their atrocities, put to the sword, all the Spaniards with their governor Valdehoyos. In recompence for the risks they had incurred, these brave men deserved to be the arbiters of their fortune. But she is by nature a jilt, who denies her favors when most needed. Pinelo and Munecks left La Paz, and uniting at Desaguedero, formed a body of eight hundred men, with which they opposed the

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troops of Pezuela, who marched in pursuit of them; battle was given, and the enemy was victorious, by reason of superiority of numbers.

The Indian Pumakagua marched upon Arequipa, that noble city, which stifling its feelings, was enslaved. With manly courage, he quickly engaged an army of more than a thousand men, routed it, took prisoners its chief Picoaga, the governor Moscozo, and Lavalle, who being conducted to Cuzco, were put to death. More than two hundred Spaniards were sacrificed to a just indignation. The victor was compelled to march to Cuzco, by the defeat of Pinelo and Munecas. Ramirez, a name that will be eternally infamous, pursued the patriots furiously. The retreat of Pumakagua left the passage to Arequipa open to the royalists, and afforded an apportunity to repeat the enormities perpetrated at La Paz.

Another of the Angulos had displayed his energy at Guamanga, routing four hundred *taleberinos* detached by the vice-roy of Lima; but the capture of Arequipa by Ramirez, called his attention to Cuzco. This great city was a prey to disorder. Nothing could support its wretched existence. There the three Angulos were beheaded, and their heads carried upon a pike to Sicuani.

A reform of the government, reducing it to a single director of the state, in the person of the citizen Don Gervasio Posadas, placed in the capital great obstacles to the vibrations of the passions. Titus Livius, observes, that Rome would have perished, if from a premature love of liberty, it had in its infancy abolished regal power. The public authority was strengthened by the politic measure of trusting the affairs of the state to the activity of a single individual.

Our Oriental army rendered itself more respectable by a stroke which proved its vigilance, and its firmness. The Spaniards of Monte Video, losing the hope of advancing their cause by open warfare, had recourse to assassination. A conspiracy of their agents was discovered in our camp, and the traitors sacrificed to the public security.

1814.

But this fortunate discovery, did not free the state from all peril, for in its bosom, a storm was brewing, and ready to burst. General Artigas, that singular man, who united to extreme sensibility, the appearance of coldness: a most insinuating urbanity to decent gravity: a daring frankness to courtesy: an exalted patriotism to a fidelity at times suspicious: the language of peace, to a native inclination to discord: in fine, a lively love of independence to most extravagant notions as to the mode of achieving it: this man, we say, disgusted with the government, because it bestowed rewards upon those he expected to see chastised, had already sowed the seeds of civil war among the troops. This great ascendancy over the Orientals, compelled them either to seek his amity or to tremble at his enmity.—

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Those citizens who loved order, labored with zeal and dexterity, to extinguish a flame menacing ruin to the state. This end appeared to be obtained by an Oriental congress, which general Rondeau convened, in the name of the government, for the purpose of nominating deputies for a national congress, and a provincial governor. All was on the eve of being verified, when general Artigas, as chief of the Orientals, commanded, in the name of the same government, that the electors should present themselves at his head quarters in order to receive instructions from him. This proceeding so strongly savouring of despotism, offended every one. The electors assembled in the chapel of Maciel, and fulfilled their trust. The real disposition of general Artigas then discovering itself; he annulled the congress, thus assuming absolute power; but this daring measure had no effect upon what this body had done. The selection of deputies, and a govenor, was celebrated in all the encampments, and the last named officer began to exercise his functions. General Artigas viewed these measures with a hatred, lively, as dissembled, and prepared to avenge himself. Under various pretexts he withdrew his country, and at last, in the garb of a countryman, deserted his post, thus leaving exposed the right of our line. This rash proceeding made it apparent, that he preferred his own interests to those of his country But many officers, and others of the Orientals, did not follow this pernicious example.

It is not easy to conceive the terrible confusion into which this event threw the besiegers. Three times orders were given to raise the siege, and as often they were revoked, so great were the evils on each side. At last the encampments were abandoned with incalculable loss, and unutterable grief. The enemy, upon discovering this, were filled with surprise, though they did not abandon themselves to immoderate joy, because they feared it might be a feint; but the people less cautious, hurried away by the desire to breathe fresh air, went in crowds without the walls. From proper foresight, the redoubts of our advanced parties had not been abandoned; French, officer of the day, ordered a most unexpected discharge of cannon, which made the enemy attribute to stratagem, what resulted, in truth, from our weakness. The terror this created in the city prevented sallies being made.

This advantage, combined with the lucky arrival, on the same day, of supplies, and the consolitory information, that a small squadron was equipping to transport a reinforcement, changed the appearance of things. The public mind was tranquilized: the fugitives returned in parties: the people of the vicinity tendered their assistance, and general Rondeau knew how to profit by these inestimable advantages; the siege was renewed more efficiently than it ever had been.

The director, Posadas, viewed the desertion of general Artigas with a hatred, carried beyond the bounds of prudence. Taking counsel from his anger, he thought that justice should take its course.

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By a solemn decree, he declared him infamous, deprived of his offices, and an outlaw, and incited the people to pursue him as a duty they owed the country; in fine, believing that he could stifle rebellion in the blood of the rebel chief, he set a price upon his head, offering six thousand dollars to whoever would bring him in, alive or dead. Experience has shewn, that moderation would have been far wiser than this violence. The director took a wrong course; whether Artigas was as guilty, as he thought him, the readers can decide. But even if he was so, what other effect could impotent rigour produce, than contempt of authority, and obstinacy in the delinquent? Even this was not all. The Orientals had enthronged Artigas in their hearts: as that which is abhored, is deemed always to be in the wrong, the very proofs upon which the director founded his decree, were, with the partisans of Artigas, so many evidences of his innocence. This proscription became that of a vast district, and reconciliation almost impossible. God grant that we may not see this sad truth perpetuated.

The army of the capital, and the naval force of the country were at this time, considerably augmented. The troops demanded to be led to battle; the fleet panted to dispute with the enemy, the command of the river. In short, the fortune of war gave us decisive successes. Two men, with all the talents required by the ends for which they were destined, the secretary Larea, and Colonel Alvear, being substituted for general Rondeau, concerted the capture of Monte Video, and all obstacles yielded to their activity, and the accuracy of their calculations. A naval battle, in which Brown, commanded our ships, and defeated shamefully the Spaniards, who were stronger in vessels than we, made us masters of the port. To give the finishing stroke to their misfortunes, Monte Video, shortly after yielded, notwithstanding a criminal correspondence between Vigodet, and the patriot Torguez. Thus was despotism deprived of its strong hold.

Our Peruvian army was now commanded by general Rondeau, who having sustained with credit, the siege of Monte Video, had not the glory of triumphing over it. The government transformed the command of this army from him to the conqueror of Monte Video. It is certain that Alvear united all the qualities of a warrior, and possessed a military experience, which he owed more to genius, than to years. But this change of command was viewed by the chief of this army, as the measure of a policy without forethought, and an ambition without limit. Something further contributed to render it odious, and this was the alarming suspicion that the country was about to be shamefully betrayed by treachery. This suspicion was countenanced, by the anticipated mission of Don Ventura Vasquez, confidential officer of the government, to place in the hands of Pezuela, certain letters: his exclusive nomination to treat with this enemy: the sending commissioners to the Spanish court: and the appointment of new officers in this army. The public mind was thus dis-

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tracted with doubts and apprehensions, when general Rondeau abdicated the command: nothwithstanding which, his subalterns coalesced; the regiments confederated, and Alvear was not admitted.

This event was foreseen. A general disgust portended and precipitated it. It has often happened, that people have refused to submit to despotism, and not known how to use liberty. The general, thus rejected by the army, returned to the capital, and was created director. This impolitic act challenged hatred, where there was already sufficient to vengeance.

This election caused an almost universal murmur, which presaged important movements. The reasons assigned in justification of this dissatisfaction, were, that the army of Peru, not being able to obey as supreme director, one whom they had refused to recognize as their chief, all the terrible effects of anarchy were about to be experienced: that the capital and other parts of the country, felt too much animosity against the party, to which the director owed his elevation, to recognize him without discontent: and that under protection of the army of Peru, and general Artigas, they might dissolve an assembly disgraced by intrigue, in their opinion, and prostrate an idol, to which the tongue paid homage, the heart disavowed: in fine, that the recollection of those acts, by which the province deemed themselves outraged, might induce them to push resentment further than they ought.

These apprehensions, were, in a great measure, realized. The army of Peru refused obedience to the new director. Cordova listening more to anger than to prudence, preferred danger to ignominy, and withdrew from its connection with the capital. Santa Fee, counting more upon its courage than strength, adhered to the system of independence it had adopted, since the troops of Artigas had invaded it.

The situation of the army of Peru, was critical and dangerous. The anxiety which began to prevail as to the consequences of these dissentions: desertion veiled under the shadow of a new government; succours withdrawn: in fine, the unfortunate action of Tejar multiplied cares and alarmed the imagination. Nevertheless, general Roudeau did not lose his natural equanimity. He knew how to make the discontented hearken to reason, and to give a favorable beginning to an enterprise. Putting his army in motion, he opened an entrance into Peru, by the victories of Puesto Grande, and Mochara.

1815.

The new director perceived the cloud that had gathered over his head, and hastened to use all expedients in his power to avert it. Convinced, that hope and fear are the great exciting principles of human actions, he endeavored to operate upon the first by rewards, upon the other by chastisements. These instruments failed in his hands. The tragical death of the unfortunate Ubeda, on one of the most solemn days of worship, caused less terror than indignation,

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and the triumph over the Cabildo of the capital, by compelling it to subscribe an odious proclamation against general Artigas, served only to make it resolve to prolong its existence in spite of this usage.

On the eve of a political disorganization, the director marched the veteran troops to subject the towns to a detested yoke. But the chief of the vanguard, Don Ignacia Alvarez, with three hundred and fifty men under his command, ashamed of being the instrument of his exaltation and vengeance, declared in favor of those he was sent to attack, and arrested the suspected officers, among whom was general Viana, who came to take the command. He encamped, and was joined by several detachments from Mendoza. The director, surrounded in his encampment, put into play whatever could contribute to save him in so critical a situation, but in vain; for fortune had determined to put an end to his glory and prosperity. The Cabildo of Buenos Ayres, instructed by Alvarez, and called by general acclamation to the command, assumed it. The civicos, with many officers of distinction, rallied round it, as its protectors. So many obstacles filled the director with despair. At last he yielded, and cast out of his country, was forced to beg an asylum in a foreign land. This cable being broken, the national assembly with its system of favoritism and peculation, was involved in ruin. All, even the Orientals, irreconcilable enemies of the capital, applauded a success, which appeared to be the beginning of order.

In order to give a successor to the deposed director, a body of electors was constituted, who chose general Rondeau, chief of the army of Peru, and named as his deputy, colonel Alvarez, who took the lead in the recent subversion of Alvear's authority.

His election would not have secured the public tranquillity, if the causes which disturbed it had not been removed. It was perceived, that heretofore, the executive availing itself of the distractions, or patience of the people, had gradually rendered itself absolute. Reason required, that this power should be balanced by another. Therefore a *provisional statute* was formed, and a junta of observation erected, *to watch the punctual fulfilment of this law, to cry out against the least infraction, and to resist every thing prejudicial to the general good.* It was to be regretted, that this statute gave more liberty than was compatible with the public good; but we had just escaped from one of those cruel situations, in which, the excesses of oppression prevent us from seeing those of its relief. A system of distrust, and restriction, made authority a mere political skeleton. We shall see the disorders which arose in consequence.

One of the earliest advantages, expected to result from this new order of things, was the re-establishment of that fraternal union with the Orientals, the rupture of which had cost the country so many tears. The Cabildo of Buenos Ayres, regarding with indignation the proclamation Alear had extorted from them, commanded it to be burned by the common executioner, in the Plaza de Victoria.

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The government also substituted moderation for the ancient system, and if the Orientals, with their chief, had been capable of perceiving the greatest enemy of the country and themselves, to be anarchy, doubtless a reconciliation would have been effected. But experience has shewn, that they had determined to bury themselves in an abyss of evils rather than yield. Without doubt too, general Artigas believed, that a calm would diminish the authority with which he had been invested in tempestuous times.

The government, fearful of seeing civil war propagated in the centre of the neighboring provinces, marched troops to Santa Fee, under the command of Don Juan Jose Viamont. This city was a key, with which general Artigas opened at pleasure the door to his seditious communications. In order to remove the distrust, and to prevent the opposition of those in the vicinity of this city, the deputy director promised them perfect liberty, and that the troops should not meddle with their domestic affairs. The death of the governor Candioti, produced much disorder. Contradictory pretensions, well or ill founded, acrimonious debates, stratagems inseparable from party, all attended the selection of the lieutenant governor, Don Juan Francisco Tarragona. The city of Santa Fee was much incensed at this appointment. What resulted from it will be seen.

Grieved at the melancholy posture of affairs in this section of the country, we were consoled by pleasing prospects in Peru: we will give briefly the principal ideas of general Rondeau's manifests. Pezuela filled with consternation abandoned his positions, and retreated to the neighborhood of Oruro. The desertion of his soldiers, and the difficulty of subsisting those that remained anounced his weakness. Our troops improved in numbers, in arms, and discipline: the insurrection of la Costa by Penaranda, and Reyes: the approach of Dr. Municas: the state of fermentation in which all the provinces were: the aids on their march from the capital; all indicated a prosperous warfare.

It was necessary that the chance of arms should be sometimes inconstant as the throw of dice, to give the melancholy shading of misfortune to this picture. Our reverses commenced with the battle of Venta and Media, where a party of the enemy attacking brigadier Rodriquez, were, most unexpectedly successful. This event seemed to give its character and color to the succeeding ones. The active Pezuela fell upon our army with the rapidity of lightning. To avoid the encounter, general Rondeau removed his camp to a rocky situation, remote from Cochabamba. Here the enemy sought him, filled with the boldness success inspires. Battle being inevitable, Rondeau took post at Sikesipi, forming a camp according to military rules. Hostilities commenced. The enemy would not have had much cause for boasting, if fortune, which a general cannot command, had not favored his cause. His left wing outflanked, his right wing almost routed, his centre almost destroyed by our artillery:

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such, said Rondeau, was the state of the battle, when a series of inauspicious occurrences gave the victory to the foe, and deprived us of glory and of hope

The victory of Sipisipi, by turning the brain of Pezuela, advanced the cause of liberty. Our situation was not so disastrous as that of the United Provinces of Holland, when they caused themselves to be represented under the image of a ship, without sails, and without rudder, at the mercy of the waves, with this latin inscription, *incertum quo fata ferant.* General Rondeau, placed his head quarters at Tupiza, with the remnant of his army, and endeavored to reorganize it. Our government, as if foreseeing the unfortunate issue of the battle, had sent forward troops, arms, and munitions, nor were the towns of the union. at this distressful period backward in extending assistance. The brave Camargo, La Medria, Padilla, Warnes, and Munecas, by rapid incursions, shewed, that the cause of liberty would prevail in spite of our misfortunes.

The accession of strength, our cause seemed to gain, even by reverses, ought to have made Pezuela see that his hopes of reestablishing despotism, were chimerical, but he still cherished the delusion. He displayed his inhumanity, by atrocious violations of his prisoner's rights, appearing to think, that to became a rebel, was to cease to be a man, and to forfeit all claims to justice and to compassion. Even that sex (14) regarded with some respect by the most abandoned, was not exempt from his rage. Many women among them the most circumspect matrons, were banished, or immured in dungeons.

The dangers which menaced the political existence of the country, demanded an executive, sufficiently energetic, to maintain order, and to triumph over the enemy. Unfortunately the provisional statute had too much curtailed the executive power. It was embarrassed by so many restrictions, as to be prevented often from availing itself of circumstances, upon which success depends, and which must be seized the instant they present themselves, or the opportunity is forever lost. In a situation so critical, the *director suplente*, appealed to the sovereign people, and asked for a reform of the constitution. The capital, always docile, and provident, when not misled by designing men, actuated by that prudence, which dictates pacific measures, approved the proposed change, and by direct vote, appointed reformers of the constitution.

One of the most urgent objects which claimed the attention of government, was the city of Santa Fee. The disgust with which this city saw itself govered by a lieutenant governor it abhorred, the exile of many reputable citizens, the suggestions of the Oriental chief, all conduced to some violent measure. The inhabitants rising in mass under the citizen Don Mericana Vera, and aided by the troops of Baxada, civil war commenced. General Viamont was attacked by the disaffected, with all the fury, that marks insurrections, and after bloody contests, capitulated. We know not why the ca-

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pitulation was not fulfilled. Cordoba adhered to its system of independence. La Rioja imitated its example, and the other cities became more or less anarchichal.

1816.

All desired a tutelary power, which, being the creature of the people, should be energetic enough to render the laws respected. This authority could only be derived from representatives of the people. The people convinced of the necessity of the change, elected them, and a sovereign congress was opened at Tucuman, on the 25th of March, 1816. Its principal care was to select a director, who would draw closely the cord of union, and direct the efforts of all to their darling object, independence. Don Juan Martin Pueyrredon, was chosen director.

NOTES.

(1) These were Casteli, Belgrano, Chiclana, Paso, Vieytes, Pena, Danagueyra, Paso, Terrada, Tompson, Vieytes, Balcarce, Beruti, Rodriguez, Donado, Prigoyen.

(2) These were colonel Seapedra, president, Castali, Belgrano, Azeninaga, Alberti, Mateu, Larrea, Morreno and Paso.

(3) They were sent to the Canaries, and were Cisnoros, Velezco, Reyes, Billota, Carpe, Danaguexra, Eschararria, Medeano, and Cosis, the fical.

(4) This junta met at the house of the governor, Concha, Liniers, Oyellana, two Oidores, Nonorarios, Col. Allende, the Asesor Rodriguez, the Alcerdos Ordinarios, the Ministro de las Caxas, Moreno and myself were present. Talone was in favor of the capital, my opinion may be seen in the Gazeta de Buenos Ayres, or in the Periodico Espanol.

(5) Except the Oidores, and Alcaldes Ordinarios.

(6) Allende, and Ordriguez were related to the principal families of Cordova, Liniers and Concha the most respectable of Buenos Ayres; some of the relatives of the two last had taken part in the revolution.

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(7) The execution took place between the Post Cobeza del Tigra, and that of Lobaton.

(8) To reunite the provinces in a congress by their representatives, was the first resolve of the capitol. Circular letters having been written for this purpose by the junta, elections were holden in the most tranquil cities. In these letters it was stated, that the deputies, when elected, should be incorporated in the government. It was now the middle of December, and the deputies (of whom I was one representing Cordova) were not incorporated.

9. In support of this calumny, a letter written by the English captain Fleming to the government of Chili, was triumphantly urged. But lord Strangleford, the British embassador near the Prince Regent of Portugal, in his official letter of September 7th, to the governor of Buenos Ayres, thus expresses himself: "I can in the most authentic manner, in the name of my court, disavow the letter of captain Fleming."

(10) As Castelli himself states in a despatch.

(11) The Portuguese Contuchi was the agent in this negotiation.

(12) To commemorate the heroism of these families, and as an incitement to patriotism, an *agudante* in each corps of the army of Peru, at roll-calling in the evening, calls out the women of Cochabamba, as if they ought to be presented, and a sergeant replies, they died in the field of honor.

(13) By the express orders of Goyeneche, the monastery of Santa Clara was not plundered because he knew that the most valuable property of the town was there deposited, and wished to appropriate it to his own use.

(14) Among many others, Dona Antonio Paredez, Dona Justa Varela, Dono Felipa Barrientes, ladies of the age of nineteen—Dona Terese Bustos, the two sisters, Malarias and Dona Barbara Cevallos, were imprisoned—Dona Teresa perished in prison—Dona Barbara, was banished to Oraro, being forced to abandon nine infant children, the Malarias were also banished.

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The foregoing continued down to the battle of Maipu, April, 1817.

1816.

With many, the most desirable object, was to obtain a moment of calm, during which, the supreme authority might be consigned to able hands; it was however at the very moment that the national congress was deliberating on this matter, that the tempest was heard to roar with the most violence.

In consequence of the resignation of the directorship *ad interim*, by colonel Alvarez, the junta of observation, in conjunction with the Cabildo of the capitol, elevated brigadier general Antonio Balcarce, to that station as his successor. This remedy was momentary; the measure was by no means in consonance with the wishes of the people; and by a kind of fatality which often presides over events, it was not long before an explosion was produced among materials so well prepared. The electors and elected, were soon discovered figuring together on the theatre of discord.

In the mean while, the new director *ad interim*, used every exertion to destroy the seeds of discord, which had already produced so much ill blood, between the Orientals and the capital, and to render all parties sensible of the advantages of living under the same law. Although the first attempt made by him for this laudable purpose, promised a favorable result, every means were found in the end unavailing to bring about a reconciliation

This discord had been propagated in the manner of a contagion, and the remedies applied to restrain its desvastations, were found to possess no efficacy. The city of Santa Fee, (a) although just escaped from a bloody contest, and threatened by dangers of a more serious nature, still pursued its peculiar ideas of independence, with what may more properly be called obstinancy than constancy.

Cordova always devoted to the maxims of federalism, notwithstanding her having sent deputies to the general congress, considered her absolute submission to the capital, as unworthy a free people, and still cherished the idea of this submission being temporary.

The other provinces according to their respective situations and characters, expressed more or less their dislike to what they considered a species of subjection.

The causes of this political phenomenon, it sought for, will not be difficult to be found. The opinion most prevalent in the provinces, was decidedly in favor of the federative system, and which they were desirous of seeing realized, even in anticipation of all the essen-

(a) General Dias Telis with a body of troops, was besieged at San Nicholas.

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tial and first objects of their new career. It had been the darling wish of the provinces, almost from the commencement of the revolution. One which had still greater charms for them, since they had seen it realised with so much glory in the United States of North America. For the present, however, the governments, the capital, and not a few of the more intelligent citizens, were opposed to this idea. Each of these parties supported its opinion by weighty reasons. From the statement of these I am about to make, the enlightened reader may judge between them.

Those in favor of the government already established, were of opinion, that the federative system could not be legally substituted, until sanctioned by a general congress; assuming it as a principle, that the constitution of a state, should receive its existence from the hands of the nation itself, and not from partial concurrence, and unconnected acts; that when the nation first regained its liberty, and all the provinces were united under the same government, the present was the form they adopted, and under this form it was, that the existence of the republic had been preserved in the midst of the most trying disasters. That until all the provinces could be again united, a thing by no means hopeless, it would be improper to deviate further than was absolutely unavoidable from what had before existed; and that at all events, if the preponderance of the capital was an evil, it was one which would soon be corrected, when that preponderance ceased to be necessary to the common safety. Further reasons, derived from views of policy, were added. According to the federative system, said they, each state is sovereign and independent as respects the rest, each may possess, and in reality does possess, separate interests; it is therefore to be feared, that each will rather seek what it may conceive to be its own interests, than the interest which is common to all; and in consequence of this egotism and misplaced jealousy, be involved in a common ruin. That in the midst of the alarming dangers, which threaten this new born state, the necessity of a complete union of all the parts, under the guidance of one head, for the better concentration and direction of its forces, is dictated by the plainest maxims of prudence; and where, it was asked, can this be placed with more propriety than in the capital, where the revolution itself received its origin, whence every great effort in the general cause has emanated, and which, from its position, its enterprise and intelligence, is enabled to manage the common concerns of the nation for the present, at least to the greatest possible advantage? The first thing to be done, continued they, is to place our independence out of danger; let this be accomplished before we disagree about the manner of using it. They further insisted, that it was not altogether safe, to confide in the example of the United States of North America, which had always been educated in the republican virtues, and to whom we were not to be compared, reared as we have been, under the rod of despotism; and that it would be unwise to trust the fate of the

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nation, in such dangerous times, to virtues which had not yet been sufficiently put to the trial. That it would be most prudent, to leave to time and education, under the influence of a free government, to produce the same character of enlightened patriotism. Those of the federal party, contended on different principles. They admitted that the government of Buenos Ayres, the capital of the former vice royalty, had been the first to shake off the Spanish yoke, and by its influence had induced the provinces to follow its example, at the same time they alledged the repeated protestations on the part of this government, that its preponderance should be but momentary, that a general congress should be convened without delay, for the purpose of fixing the general government on a permanent basis. It was by these protestations that the provinces had been induced to enter into the views of the capital, and to place their resources at its disposal. They complained that so long a time had elapsed without performing this engagement, that their situation thus far was but little different from that under the Spanish monarchy, that they had obtained but little more than a change of masters. They did not deny the difficulty of calling a national congress during the stormy period of the revolution; but said that in default of a congress, the general government of the capital, ought to have ceased, and the provinces ceased to be swayed by it, seeing that the general voice was in favor of the federative system. Far from being inadequate to the exigencies of the times, and the objects of the revolution, they asserted that the individual acts of the provinces had contributed most to raise the character of the republic and to advance the general cause. If our dissentions, said they, have caused us discredit with foreign nations, it is to be attributed to the clashing of the government of the capital with the feelings and wishes of the provinces. That as there can be no effect without a cause, the federative system, by putting an end to these odious rivalries and jealousis, would prevent the recurrence of scenes so disgraceful. It is true, said they, the tumultuous proceedings of the capital, had generally sprung from other causes; chiefly from the inordinate thirst for office in many of its inhabitants; the ambitious turning to their advantage, even the extreme jeolousy of their liberties on the part of the people; was it just, it was asked, that the provinces should be compelled to follow these frequent and capricious changes, in which they took no part? But would not these evils have long since ceased with the establishment of the federative system? What temptations could there be to seduce the aspiring in the limited and definite powers which the federative system would present? On the contrary, what could be more tempting to the ambitious than a system which enabled those in power to be the masters and arbiters of the republic? One which would enable them to prefer their flatterers and favorites, and those who were neither, but merely happened to be about them, to able and meritorious citizens: and to consult their

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private wishes more than the public good. They alledged, that in fact, the capital had thus far paid much more attention to its own peculiar interests, than to the rights of the provinces; that she had gratified the ambition and avarice of many in the provinces, in order by enlisting the human frailties and passions on her side, to sow the seeds of discord and disunion in other parts of the confederacy; these persons engaging to repress the sentiments of the people and draw them into a subordination, which accorded only with their interested views. When these things, said they, are impartially considered, how can we draw closer the chords of union under a government like the present; which by its oppressions as well as by its favors, weakens that love of country which the federative system has a tendency to foster; a system which at the same time that it leaves the citizen in the full enjoyment of that portion of liberty which the good of society does not require him to surrender, imparts enough for all the purposes of the general safety and happiness. But let it not be said, continued they, that there are no republican virtues amongst us; to what else is to be attributed the noble resolution we have taken and which we have sanctioned by our oaths, to die rather than not live free and independent? To what else that energetic and heroic resistance which has given so many days of glory to our country? And even if it be admitted that we do not possess those virtues, are they to be inculcated by the example of a government which teaches nothing but selfishness and corruption?

Thus reasoned the opposite parties. With respect to our own opinion, we should say, that from the impossibility of attaining this end without encountering the evils of anarchy and perhaps civil war, on account of the preponderating influence of the capital, it was perhaps the wisest course on the part of the provinces to make a sacrafice for the present, of their obedience, to that unity of action without which, our ultimate success must be doubtful. It is to be expected, that our enemies will labour without ceasing to regain their lost domination, and flattered by our dissensions they will be continually engaged in forming new projects to enslave us, lured by the hope that we shall be able to bring forward but feeble and divided efforts in support of our liberties. I have thus traced without dissimulation the melancholy picture of our domestic discords.

A number of the citizens of Buenos Ayres touched with the unfortunate antipathy of the provinces to join heartily in the cause of their common country, and fearing that our dissentions would form a bridge over which the enemy might pass to reduce us to subjection, united their wishes and honestly confessing that the balance of public opinion inclined to federalism, petitioned the governor intendant of the province, to strip Buenos Ayres of its prerogative, and to place it on the same footing with the other provinces. They believed that this measure would put an end to their irritated jealousies, that a fraternal feeling would succeed, enabling them to com-

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plete the edifice, which they had so gloriously begun. In an affair of so much importance, the intendant, in order to ascertain, with accuracy the sentiments of the people, decreed that the petition be taken into consideration in a general assembly or Cabildo to be convened for the purpose, and one was accordingly ordered to meet on the 19th of June, 1816. This unexpected event lighted up anew the imperfectly extinguished fire of discord. The junta of observation, although agreeing in opinion with the intendant, as to the propriety of taking the sense of the people, were not satisfied that this should be done by general suffrage from apprehension of dangerous* and tumultious agitations, they thought it would be more advisable to ascertain their will through deputies elected for the purpose. This contrarity of opinion fractured the state into parties, whose disputes were conducted with so much heat and violence, that it was seriously feared they would not stop short of an appeal to arm. Had this subject been considered unmixed with private and personal feelings, it would scarcely have given rise to a difference in thinking.

This contest although suffered to remain *in statu quo*, left the minds of the parties too much ulcerated to permit them to settle down in peace and harmony. It was at the same time so far aggravated by another dispute, that the junta of observation in concert with the Cabildo assuming the tone of authority proceeded to depose the directors *ad interim*. In his place was substituted a gubernatorial commission, composed of Don Francisco Antonio Escalada and Don Miguel Iregogen.

While these things were taking place, the troops of Buenos Ayres, under the command of colonel Don Eustacio Dias Velis, were approaching the city of Santa Fee, while at the same time a small squadron of vessels under the command of colonel Don Mathias Iregogen placed it under blockade. The arms of these two cities rivalled each other in intrepidity and courage. It would be uncandid to conceal the admiration we feel in beholding a small town like Santa Fee, without disciplined troops, and with little assistance, causing itself to be respected by its enemy, and under the direction of its chief supporting the cause of its independence. It is true the Santafeeinos abandoned their city, believing that they carried it along with them, wherever they could live free. It was not long before they besieged their invaders themselves, and caused them to experience the sufferings of famine; and by a lucky accident having made themselves masters of several of their enemies vessels, together with the commander of the squadron, there appeared but little likelihood of their being about to succumb to their invadors.

Two important occurrences which had taken place in the city of Tucuman, were of a nature to divert the current of dissention. The

* Two petitions were presented, one with one hundred and one signatures, the other with one hundred and ten.

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first was the election of the supreme directorship of colonel Don Juan Martin Pueyrredon, but the exigences of the war claimed the first attention of the director, the cities of Salta and Jujui being menaced by the enemy; this of course delayed his returned to the capital.

The other was the solemn declaration of our independence made by congress on the memorable 9th of July, 1816; six years had elapsed since that dark period, when we were regarded in no other light than as a flock tamely obedient to the will of its owner; in which, we quietly looked on, while strangers directed the economy of our house, in which our own hands were employed to erect fortresses intended to enslave us; six years of the most profound and universal interest, felt, I might almost say, even by the infant in the mothers arms, had awakened a crowd of new ideas throughout all classes of society, and inspired a general wish to rise to that condition which nature herself seemed to designate. These provinces ashamed of having so long delayed to declare this emancipation, raised at last the sublime acclaim of liberty.

It was thought sufficiently probable that those important occurrencies would have quieted the provinces and convinced them of the necessity of a well organized whole. Unfortunately this was not the case. "From Cordova," said the director in his manifesto, "with what painful anxiety did I cast my eyes towards the agitated province of Buenos Ayres." And not without cause, for in going to enter upon his government, he was about to place himself upon the top of a volcanic mountain. It was notwithstanding his good fortune to succeed in conquering the antipathies of his most inveterate enemies. Would to God he had been equally successful in finding the means of restoring perfect tranquillity to the state! The wild and ungovernable Orientals and Santafeecinos, still however persisted in this restless and inconsiderate course. Over and above the numerous causes which rendered their rupture so calamitous, others followed of a nature to render them more lasting. The court of Brazil, about this time, raised the mask which had hitherto concealed the perfidious project, it had long since formed of taking possession of the delightful countries on the eastern side of the river.

The court of Brazil had already made frequent attempts to obtain this territory, which for more than a hundred yerrs it had coveted with so much greediness, but was as often compelled to abandon its prey, until our lamentable dessension at last seemed to guarrantee the success of an invasion. The director seized this opportunity to revive with general Artigas, that ancient friendship, whose combined force had on former occasions frustrated the shameful designs of the Portuguese. A deputy was despatched to him carrying a supply of arms and munitions of war, and requesting him to state with frankness what were his wants, that these should be the measure of the aid to be furnished. But to speak of reconciliation with Artigas, was to speak to the desert. His obduracy could neither be softened by

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concesssion, nor his pride be humbled by dangers. Although he received the donations, he heard the proposals with displeasure, preferring that history should accuse him of having sacrificed the occasion to his private hatred, his duties to his caprice, and his country to his interests.

With respect to the Santafeecinos, the directors was not more actuated by a desire to prevent the disagreeable consequences of this city remaining in a state distinct and separate, from all the other members of the republic, than anxious to place the forces under general Dias Velis in security; with this view he despatched deputies with propositions highly advantageous to them, and which ought to have sufficed for the restoration of the ancient harmony and brotherhood. Before their arrival at Santa Fee, our army had already evacuated the place and descended the river. The late invasion was by no means calculated to dispose their minds to reconciliation. And even if the Santafeecinos had given this proof of their love of order, it is probable they would soon have repented of an act which would have lessened them in the estimation of their protector, general Artigas; however this may be, the negotiation terminated without effect.

The city of Cordova, although with her deputies in congress, and submitting to the capital, inclined to the side of the Orientals and Santafeecinos; her character would not permit her to abandon the last of these in the period of adversity; the dangers which threatened her neighbor, served but to draw more closely the ties of amity, and which increased in proportion to the risk she encountered. A body of Cordovians to the number of four hundred, under the command of Don Juan Pablo Bulnes, hastened as far as the city of Del Rosario in aid of the Santafeecinos; but finding no enemies, they returned home without any material occurrence.

The expedition of Bulnes was not undertaken with the approbation of the governor of Cordova, colonel Don Josef Dias; not because this officer was not inclined to the side of the Santafeecinos, and the cause of federalism, but because it suited the political course he had resolved to follow, to give merely a negative consent; or perhaps seeing Bulnes at the head of a more considerable force than he himself could command, he did not think it prudent to oppose him. Be this at it may, it laid the foundation of a reciprocal animosity, as indiscreet as badly intended. While Bulnes was on his return to Cordova, Dias was collecting a force to receive him. He was fearful that his rival might entertain the intention of deposing him, and placing himself at the head of the government. These two bodies were in a little while arrayed against each other, and after acting a military farce, a few shot fired in the air, Bulnes was left in possession of the field of battle, and entered the city in triumph.

These agitations and disorders were in direct violation of the public authority. They proceeded from an active force, supported

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by the opinion which was most prevalent; in their consequences they were to be dreaded both for the present and the future, as exhibiting the most dangerous examples. The rights claimed by the government and the congress were weighed in distinct scales from their own. The only remedy which the congress could apply to these evils, was in appealing to the good sense of these people. A manifesto was published, breathing in eloquent language the sentiment of love of country, lamenting and severely censuring the public disorders, thundering anathemas against the disturbers of the public repose, and exhorting all to obedience and submission to the supreme authority, which had only for its object to secure the safety and happiness of the *republic*. As might have been expected, little impression was produced by this publication, amongst a people who considered themselves as betrayed, when denied the form of government which they preferred. In fact they regarded the manifesto like one of those autumnal clouds, which lighten much, but bring them no rain.

A more successful measure was adopted with respect to the province of Cordova, which was the placing its government in the hand of Don Antonio Funes, (brother of the author of this sketch,) a native and inhabitant of the city of Cordova. This appointment, whether considered with a view to the capacity and virtues of the individual, or the prudence of the choice, was worthy of applause. He was a citizen who possessed talents by no means vulgar; of a mind refined by application to belles-lettres and elevated by the study of the sciences, he was regarded as an honor to literature. A man of unusual nerve, of a character severe without austerity, more a lover of virtue, than of his fortune, than of his family, or of his life. Exemplary in the fulfillment of his social duties, his house wore the appearance of a sanctuary, to which the unfortunate might resort for comfort and protection. From his politics, dark intrigues, cunning management, and all perfidious practices were excluded. A noble frankness characterised his deportment; detesting artifice, yet prudent and cautious in his speech, and in all times a friend of social order. Our revolution, on which justice had set her seal, could not fail to draw him to its side; he embraced its cause with sincerity and propagated it with discretion; but the unsettled state of things which succeeded, had induced him to bury himself in a retirement where without being exposed to the clashing of contending parties, he might pursue the stoical severity of his life, and indulge his passion for literary pursuits. With a firmness superior to the reverses of fortune, he supported without murmuring the *loss of nearly all that he possessed, his credits to a great amount, and what was more severe, of two promising sons in the flower of youth, when the national congress cast its eyes upon him as the most suitable person to oppose the torrent of disorders of which Cordova had become the theatre.

* This estimable man happened to possess property to a large amount in Peru, which on the breaking out of the revolution was confiscated by the royalists. TRANSLATOR.

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To a common mind, the situation in which the governor was placed, would have presented almost insuperable difficulties. The city of Cordova being occupied by Bulnes, his son-in-law, and in the very first step he would have to take, it would be necessary that he should be armed with a severity which knows no relationship but that of reason and the law. In the course of the revolution he had not declared himself in favor of any of the forms of government which this republic might think proper to adopt. His opinion was in favor of that which the will of the nation, solemnly expressed in congress, should sanction; and until this could be known, he thought that no one without violating the laws of order and just subordination, could forcibly resist the established authortities. In opposition to these sentiments Bulnes made a show of force before his eyes, and his conduct gave few or no indications of a sense of honor, respect or deference. The governor prudently concealed his determination, until he should be supported by a sufficient force to enable him to carry it into effect. It was not long before a body of veteran troops under the command of col. Sayos came down from Tucuman to his assistance. Bulnes had the arrogance to take the field against him, but Sayos in the presence of the governor himself, completely routed his forces and put him to flight. A common mind would have been pleased with a flight, which would have spared the painful conflict between the ties of relationship, and the demands of justice. But this was a case calculated only to call forth the firmness and energy of the new governor. He caused a diligent pursuit to be made, until placed in his power, he should be delivered over to all the severity of the law. The fortitude required by such occasions allows of no mixture of human weakness; and as a celebrated orator has justly said, the magistrate who is not a hero, scarcely deserves to be regarded as an honest man. The province for the present remained tranquil, and the cause of Bulnes was subjected to the legal forms by order of the congress.

From the volcanic eruptions of the provinces, which about this time happily, became less frequent, let us direct our attention to exterior affairs. The policy of assailing the enemy's commerce, was found to operate as a powerful aid to our cause, and was about this time carried on with great success. The enemy's ports in the Pacific were greatly harrassed by the flotilla under commodore Brown.—Nothing could more fully prove the state of subjection to which the people were reduced by Spanish tyranny; under its vile domination, it seemed as if all the springs of the mind had been destroyed, and instead of national feeling, there existed nothing but sordid personal interest. Near the isle of Ormigas, Brown captured five prizes; he dared even to brave the castles of the port of Callao, and to defy the Spanish armed ships. He found the port of Guisquie in a still greater state of abandonment; here he entered in triumph, and carried off property to the amount of seven hundred thousand dollars.

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While the vice roy of Lima was thus harrassed by sea, his armies in Peru and Salta, experienced an almost uninterrupted series of disasters. Col. Don Manuel Asensio Padilla, sustained with much glory the standard of our country against the inhuman Facon. The valor and patriotism of this officer had attached to his person a considerable number of patriots, into whom he inspired confidence, activity and courage. In order to throw some obstacles in the way of his triumphs, a body of about one thousand men, was ordered to march towards Laguana. Here they were expected by Padilla, who had entrusted the defence of various posts to his captains, and one of them, which may sound somewhat singular to the reader, to the command of his wife, a very extraordinary woman Dona Juena Azunduy. The enemy was completely repulsed after having made a furious assault, and this heroic female had the satisfaction of presenting to her husband, the banner of the enemy, which she had taken with her own hands.* Padilla did not go to sleep beneath his laurels; without giving time to the enemy to collect his forces, he pursued them in every direction, and shut what remained of them in the town of Chuquisaca. Scarcely less glorious was the victory of Wanes, who destroyed another body of nearly one thousand men commanded by Facon in person.

The perils of the war in the district of Injui and Salta, drew from the inhabitants, proofs of heroism, in support of their independence, equal to what was exhibited in declaring it. General Guemes, formidable alike for his constancy and valor continually presented a threatening front to Pescuela, and by his activity deprived him of his conquests as fast as they were made. Abandoning Injui precipitately, Pescuela encountered losses of considerable moment. The Guerillas led by Don Augustin Ribera, Don Diego Calla, Don Diego Tallangiani, Don Justo Ganzalis, Don Joseph Miguel Valdiviesa, Don Francisco Guerreros, and Don Francisco Briondo, contributed much to diminish his credit and the weight of his authority.

1817.

These advantages in some measure made amends for the mortification of seeing the troops of Portugal in the territory of the state. From the time it was known that the Prince Regent of Portugal, had raised the colonies of Brazil to the pre-eminence of metropolis, it was strongly suspected that he would attempt to aggrandize himself by the occupation of these countries. The powerful temptations which had continually attracted the Portuguese towards our territories, had almost become one of the fixed principles of their

* This was the celebrated banner, under which the enemy had reconquered La Paz, Peru, Arequiha and Cusco, and on which account, it was distinguished by magnificent embroidery. For this action the lady was rewarded by the state with the commission and emolument of lieutenant colonel.

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policy; it was therefore not surprising that they should profit by an opportunity which seemed the most favorable for the gratification of their ambition. But as mere ambition furnishes no justification for the invasion of the territory of other nations, the director considered it as his duty to remonstrate with general Lecos, commander of the Portuguese forces, on the step he was about to take, and to warn him of the consequences of the aggression. At the same time that he took this step, he communicated it to general Artigas, and the Cabildo of Monte Video, requesting that at this moment of common danger, which required the combination of all their forces, that their differences might be forgotten; and in order to fix upon the principles of reconciliation, he deputed with full powers the Meaides Don Juan Jose Durar and Don Juan Giro. In the preliminary conferences which took place, the errors of discord and the benefits of harmony between the two countries, were represented in the most animated terms; and it was finally agreed that the eastern shore (Banda Oriental) should acknowledge the sovereignty of congress, and the authority of the supreme director of the state; that members in proportion to its population should be sent, and that the government should promptly furnish what assistance was necessary for its defence.

The joy produced by this event, which in putting an end to the unhappy disputes that divided the country, appeared to restore its pristine strength and glory, was celebrated with pomp and magnificence. At the very moment however, when the people were engaged in giving vent to their feelings which were excited to a degree that might almost be considered immoderate, information was received that the Orientals had refused to ratify the convention, no doubt influenced by their chief. Artigas considering the natural tendency of the connexion and dependence of the eastern shore, as destructive to the absolute sway which he had so long been accustomed to exercise; in his conception the dangers and devastations of a war with the Portuguese, were to be preferred to the influence of the capital.

The remonstrance of the supreme director with general Licos did not produce the effect on his mind which it merited. This chief contented himself with declaring, that in order to place the Portuguese frontier out of danger from the contagion of anarchy which threatened it, it had become necessary to take possession of a country which in becoming independent had given itself up to every species of disorder and misrule. The futility of this pretext was fully exposed by the director in his subsequent official letters, and also by the eloquent editor of the ministerial gazette, Don Julian Albanes; nothing can be added to the force of their reasonings. Taking it for granted, that a sovereign has a right to interfere in the domestic quarrels of his neighbors, whenever he may think them of a nature disturb the tranquillity of his own states, yet it is an undoubted

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principle of the law of nations, that he should first make suitable representations to the party offending, before actually resorting to the use of force. To occupy a country by force under the mask of peace, can only be learned in the school of Machiavel. There is certainly some difference between acting the part of a centinel, to watch for the preservation of self, and thus intruding into the country of another *hospite insalutato*, with no object in reality, but that of conquest. The dispute of the Orientals and the capital, was a family quarrel; but a quarrel which had not dissolved the ties of the first with the nation. These people as well by their own will, as by the constitution of the state, were integral parts of American confederation. Common decency, not less than respect for the laws of nations, would have forbidden this resort to violence, before all the proper measures had been taken without effect, to place in a state of security the nation which declared itself in danger; otherwise the world would be continually exposed to become the prey of the first occupant who could support his cause by force; like the ambitious Portuguese there would never be wanting a pretext for invasion.

The management of the war, together with the other important cares of government, rendered it desirable, that the congress and the directors should be nearer each other in order by their combined wisdom to conduct the affairs of the state with greater promptitude and judgment. Its removal to the capital, was, however a step of no small danger, The sound of discord was still heard like the hollow murmuring of the waters after the tempest has subsided. It was much to be feared, in the agitations which might ensue that this national assembly, which was considered by many of the friends of order as the last resort, would, like the similar attempts formerly made, prove abortitive. Besides this, the provinces were desirous that the congress should hold its sessions at a distance from the capital, in order, that being free from undue influence, and the fear which bayonets might cause, they would be able to pursue their course with the more perfect freedom. After much discussion, and important reasons urged on both sides of the question, they finally yielded to the solicitation of the directors who strongly urged their removal to the capital; and accordingly carried the resolution into effect in the midst of new commotions and disturbances.

One of them had its origin in the audacious mind of an inhabitant of Santiago de Lestera, named Don Francisco Borges. This indiscreet man had been engaged for some time in secretly exciting the minds of those who entertained an aversion to the constituted authorities. His intrigues engaged on his side, not a few of his fellow citizens, who together with others in the neighboring towns, raised the standard of rebellion under his command. A corps of veteran troops was immediately despatched against them from Tucuman. Borges, more skilled in forming factions than in profiting by them when formed, was unable to maintain his ground; beaten, pursued, and taken prisoner, he paid with his life the price of his temerity.

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The governor of Cordova, although possessing more prudence and foresight than his predecessor, was unable to provide against a conspiracy which surprised him in his own house. Bulnes from his prison colleaguing with some of those wretches who are every where to be found in an unsettled state of society, was enabled through this means to corrupt the garrison, and not satisfied with obtaining his release, he assailed the house of the govern, whom he seized and placed in confinement, together with militrry commandant Sayos.

The chief of this plot was not possessed of sufficient talents to direct any important object, nor had the soldiers whom he had corrupted, a sufficient interest to serve him. These were, with few or no exceptions, veteran Spanish troops, who had deserted to us, and who had been placed under the command of an European, named Quintana, but who would willingly sell themselves to whoever offered most. Bulnes was deposed, and in his stead was chosen, a certain Urtubei, a person in whom the conspirators fancied they could repose their confidence with greater safety. The situation of the conspirators was critical; they knew that their indecent and dishonorable conduct was detested by the inhabitants of Cordova, and that their force was inadequate to sustain them; they therefore justly feared the punishment which the congress and the director would inflict upon their crimes. In this embarrassment, they fell upon the plan of compelling Don Juan Andres de Pueyrredon, brother of the director, to accept the office of governor of the province, in an open Cabildo, or assembly, composed chiefly of the factious. It was not long, before all those who were openly concerned in this disgraceful business, were obliged to beg an asylum in Santa Fee, to which place they retreated. Colonel Sayos, who, with his officers, was ordered to be conducted to some remote place, contrived to gain over the guard to his side, at the end of a few days' march. At this moment, he was accidentally joined by governor Fumes, who, by the permission of Bulnes, was on his way to Buenos Ayres. They immediately set about collecting a force, for the purpose of returning to put down the insurrection. This consisted, however, of very indifferent militia, upon which little or no dependence could be placed. Notwithstanding this, and the obstacles thrown in the way, by a handful of vicious, unprincipled men, the governor succeeded in reestablishing order, and in entering upon the duties of his office.

The chief of the insurrection was arrested, and sent to Buenos Ayres, where, together with several of the European soldiers, he was tried, condemned, and executed.

These discords in the east, the west, and the north, contributed chiefly to flatter the hopes of our enemies, and encouraged them to form new plans for our subjugation. Ten thousand Portuguese, under the command of general Lecor, in three divisions, were marched into the territory of the eastern shore. The first, consisted of five thousand men, under his immediate command, who directed his march by the way of Santa Teresa; the second, under the command

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of general Silviera, consisting of sixteen hundred, by the way of Serno Largo; the third, which formed the right of the enemy, under Curau, proceeded towards the town newly founded by Artigas, in the vicinity of the Uruguay. It was utterly impossible for the general to oppose this torrent. Although the Orientals were gifted with great strength of body and intrepidity of mind, yet neither their numbers, the nature of their arms, their discipline, nor their subordination, could enable them openly to take the field against invaders, in these respects, so much superior. This superiority very soon manifested itself. General Pinto, with nine hundred men, advanced as far as India Muerta, where he was attacked by general Ribera, with eleven hundred; and although he sustained a vigorous fight, he was compelled to retire with less than one half his division; possessing, however, that coolness which characterises the brave, in critical situations, he did not neglect to detach a part of his force to watch the operations of the enemy. Soon after this, a detachment, consisting of a hundred men, fell in with an equal number of Portuguese, who had marched out of Maldonado; stung by shame, and roused to desperation by the disgrace of the last affair, they rushed with irresistible fury upon their enemies, who were literally cut to pieces.

General Forguese was opposed to general Silviera, at the head of eight hundred men, but was more distinguished for stratagem and astuteness, than enterprise. It was of great importance to impede the march of Silviera, whose object was to form a junction with Lecor. Ribera having united his force to that of Forguese, they determined to attack, but through some unaccountable accident, the former retreated to Rio Negro. The Portuguese army, although continually harrassed by Ribera, reached the Barra de Casupa, at Santa Lucia La Grande. Ribera did not despair of being able to defeat the enemy; but considering the smallness of his force, he besought the town of Monte Video, to send the delegate, Barcino, with a reinforcement of four hundred men; the only force that could be spared, was the corps of Libertos, commanded by colonel B——; but from a spirit of rivalry, ill becoming the times, this officer was unwilling to serve under Ribera; this reinforcement being thus denied, general Silviera effected a junction with general Lecor; after which they proceeded to the capture of Monte Video, on the 19th of January, 1817. Barcino having abandoned it in much disorder.

The fortune which had formerly attended the Orientals, was now reversed. They fled the presence of those whom they had been before accustomed to repel, or, if they showed resolution, it usually degenerated into rashness. The right wing of the Portuguese army, commanded by Curau, directed its march towards the place, at which the chief of the Orientals was stationed, and arrived at the Arrayo de los Catalanos. This frontier was defended by general La Torre, with three thousand men. Full of an arrogant confidence, which did not permit him to calculate the risk, he determined on attacking the

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enemy. Mondragor, who commanded the cavalry, with more prudence, remonstrated against this step; alledging, that having had the good fortune to deprive the enemy of his horses, oxen, and carts, these ought first to be secured, before exposing himself anew to the chance of battle, which, considering the present situation of the Portuguese, must be extremely doubtful. La Torre, either not convinced by this reasoning, or despising it, exercised his authority, and imprudently fell upon the enemy with his whole force. The action was obstinate and bloody, but terminated in the most disastrous manner; general Artigas occupied a position, some distance in the rear, with a small corps of one hundred men. The consequence of this unfortunate affair, reached even his encampment; here he was surprised by four hundred men, and was only enabled to escape with the assistance of Charua Indian, but with the loss of all his baggage.

In the midst of the progress of Lecor, he found himself all at once shut up in Monte Video suffering hunger, and all the privations of a siege: his situation becoming intolerable, he marched with two thousand men in search of cattle and other provisions. The indefatigable Ribera, who closely watched his movements, prepared an ambuscade with much sagacity at the pass of San Lucia, and causing no small loss to the enemy, attained his object for the moment. Lecor was not compelled however to abandon his enterprise, but proceeded as far as the pass of Pinto where he was again attacked by Ribera, and experienced a loss of two hundred men. These advantages were of too partial a nature to enable the Orientals to derive hopes from them in the face of an enemy so powerful. They contributed chiefly to raise the reputation of Ribera.

The cry now became universal on the part of the Orientals, and even of their chiefs, for a re-establishment of their union with Buenos Ayres, as the only means of finding shelter from the desolating tempest. In virtue of this state of mind a communication was opened with the director, who at once met so desirable a proposition, and immediately sent a supply of arms and munitions of war by way of Colonia.—Although Ribera had given his consent to the union, he stipulated to withdraw it, in case it should not meet the approbation of Artegas.—For this purpose he communicated the stipulation he had entered into, in his absence to that chief. To Artegas it was of little importance, to such an event would be advantageous to the *republic*; he saw in it nothing but a diminution of his own consequence and power. In order to prevent the discontent which his refusal might produce, at the same time, that with one hundred men, he went down to dissuade Ribera, he caused his partizans to circulate the most scandalous abuse of the capital and its intentions; proclaiming that a union with the capital would be a union with perfidy and robbery, and that it would be exchanging their liberty for a shameful and attrocious servitude. These odious imputations could not fail of producing an effect upon the simple well-meaning people, who reposed implicit confidence in Artegas,

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as well as in the minds of those who had on former occasions been ill treated by the government of Buenos Ayres, of which number was Ribera. The party in favor of union was, however, too strong to be easily dissuaded from its purpose. In fact Barcinos Bansa, col. of the Libertos, Ranios commander of the artillery, a body of chasseurs, and some corps of militia under he command of Don Tames Garcia, having elected the latter as their commander entered into articles of union with Buenos Ayres. Ribera offended with an act which was very little short of a revolt against him, by a part of the troops under his command, hastened with three hundred chosen men, to call them to an account for this procedure. After some warm altercation Garcia being the strongest, remained with the command, and Ribera sending a copy of the offensive articles to Artegas, called for a detachment of five hundred men for the purpose of attacking his opponents. It was well known that Artegas would destroy without mercy, those who set about diminishing his authority. In truth this man taking counsel only from his ambition, and from a mischievous Franciscan Friar, who for a long time had swayed him, resolved to comply with the request of Ribera, with all possible expedition. General Forges, one of the most repute among the Orientals, opposed with energy a measure which was about to awaken the horrors of civil war, and declared for a union with the capital. Of the five hundred, only fifty were dispatched to Colonia, under the pretext of defending this place, which was threatened by a Portuguese flotilla, but with the real intention of uniting with Ribera, and to make war upon those who should be in favor of the union. The party of Artegas prevailed. The director had hoped that the Orientals won over by his friendly conduct, would lower their pretensions, but his patience was wearied out by so much obstinacy.

While these clouds obscured the east, the west appeared more serene; the governors of Cuyo, colonel Don Jose de San Martin, a man bold enough to conceive great designs, sufficiently a lover of glory to devote himself to them, and not wanting good fortune in their execution, had for some time past meditated in silence the reconquest of Chili. This country had been completely subdued by the Spaniards; more than one hundred of the most influential people had been banished to the island of Juan Fernandez, the inhabitants completely disarmed and held under the most rigid subjection; their secret wishes, however, as may be readily supposed, were in favor of independence, and San Martin had every reason to believe that if he could cross the mountains with a respectable army, he would have none but the Spaniards to contend with, and would find the people, as far as was in their power, disposed to co-operate with him. The situation of the United Provinces, continually threatened from Chili and Peru, plainly pointed out the immense importance of expelling the Spaniards from the former, by which means, they would at the same time, strike the severest blow to their enemy, and gain a pow-

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erful ally; a sense of duty also called upon them to assist their brethren, those who on a former occasion, when Buenos Ayres was threatened by the Spanish general Elio, had contributed both men and money to her assistance. But the chief difficulty lay in procuring the means of raising such an army as would be adequate to the enterprise. The state notwithstanding its recent declaration of independence, was at no time since the commencement of the war in a condition so deplorable; it might almost be said to be drifting at the mercy of the winds and waves. The province of Cuyo, at the first glance seemed to promise less; its soil but indifferent, its population small, its products of late much reduced in value, and as the frontier, continually exposed to the invasion of the Spaniards. But San Martin possessed the talent of winning the hearts of those with whom he was connected, of awaking the higher passions, and of enlisting them not by halves, but entirely in his plans. He had possessed himself so completely of the affections of the people of Cuyo, that they placed without reserve every thing they had at his disposal. They freely yielded up their male slaves to the number of six hundred, they furnished three thousand horses, ten thousand mules, and contributed their personal services for the construction of quarters, encampments, armories, and in conducting troops and munitions from Buenos Ayres. Much of this is doubtless to be attributed to the moderation and self denial, both in public and private life of the chief who commanded, the best security for the confidence of the people; but it is likewise to be attributed to a cause which does much honor to the province, to wit: its uniform patriotism and good conduct. Correct morals are most conducive to love of country, and love of country is not less conducive to good morals. Had they been less pure, this patriotism would have been less, and less also would have been the influence of San Martin. After a twelve month spent in collecting, organizing and disciplining his army, which at the same time afforded Marco an opportunity of making the necessary preparations to oppose him, San Martin put in execution his daring attempt to cross the Andes. The mere idea of such an undertaking is enough to strike the mind with astonishment, as amountiag almost to a violation of the laws of nature. We can form but a faint idea of this enterprise, when we consider that the mountains to be crossed for one hundred leagues are the highest on the globe, with defiles so narrow as not to admit two persons abreast along the guidy urge of frightful gulfs, while the severity of the climate seemed to contend with the ruggedness of the passage; added to these the difficulty of transporting artillery, at the same time embarrassed with the baggage and provisions for thirty days, and after all trusting to the uncertain chances of success, after the termination of these labors and fatigues; in truth when every thing is considered fairly, this achievement may justly rank with the most celebrated of those recorded in history. In thirteen days the army ef-

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fected its passage with the loss of about five thousand horses and mules, and of a small number of men, chiefly blacks, who were unable to stand the cold. After some slight skirmishes, the army took up its position at Acoracogua.

The passage of the mountains was, in itself, an achievement of a nature to give assurances of the result. The heroic army which had vanquished the Andes, fighting under the banners of liberty and the country, could no more be resisted than a torrent of the mountains. The splendid triumph of Chacabuco, which took place soon after, raised San Martin to the pinnacle of glory, and gave a new aspect to the affairs of South America. "In twenty four days," said the general, "we have terminated the campaign; we have crossed the most elevated mountains of the globe, put an end to the sway of tyrants, and given liberty to Chili." The president Marco was taken prisoner and the remains of his forces took refuge in the fortress of Talcaguana. A junta of the Chilians was convened at Santiago; through gratitude to San Martin, they offered to invest him with the directorship, which he declined; they then elected Don Bernando O'Higgins. The Chilians afterwards sought by various modes to express their gratitude to the *general of the Andes*, by which name San Martin, by a kind of involuntary concurrence, was now distinguished; but considering these offers as incompatible with the notions of greatness which he entertained, they were positively declined. It would be improper not to mention the restoration of the banished Chilians to their families, which was almost the first act of the government. San Martin returned to Buenos Ayres, to receive new orders and to concert new plans with the government, all eyes being now turned towards Peru, as the quarter in which their long looked for peace and liberty would be sealed. On approaching Mendoza, the capital of Cuyo, he was met by its inhabitants, the youth strewing roses in the road, and all demonstrating the most heartfelt expressions of regard; the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres were equally desirous of shewing every mark of veneration for this hero, but San Martin being apprised of their preparations, stole into the town unobserved. Some are disposed to condemn what appears to them an affected squeamishness, and false delicacy, in thus declining honors, which are known in general to be grateful to the human heart; but for this very reason, in my opinion, it is great and noble to decline or despise them.

The cause of the state, in Peru, when conducted by the virtues, experience, and abilities of Belgrano, who, on his return from his important mission to Europe had once more assumed the command, was again seen to revive. In the rencontres already related we have seen that victory had also returned to our side. General Serna, who succeeded Pescuela, was not possessed of the abilities of his predecessor; although the celebrated leaders Padilla and Merceces were killed, Warnes, and Ganderilla and Fernandez supported the cause of

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their country. By these the sanguinary Facon was pushed to the very verge of the precipice; but this victim was reserved for another hand; a ray of lightning sent from Heaven, put an end to his days and his cruelties. His army was reduced almost to nothing.

General Serna discovered only a vain and arrogant confidence in his own powers. He had scarcely assumed the command, when he conceived the design of attempting the reconquest of Salta and Injui and even of Tucuman. The history of his predecessor ought to have opened his eyes. These places had proved the sepulchres of the Spaniards, and he might cause them to be so again. These admonitions were disregarded by Serna, who, more haughty than the knight of La Mancha entered Injui at the head of an army of upwards of two thousand men. Governor Guemes rendered the possession of the place little better than a trap for his destruction. He and his brave countrymen invested him so closely, that he soon began to repent of his folly. His forces were incessantly harrassed by a great number of guerrillas, and much reduced by the actions of San Pedrita, Huniaquaca, Tarija el Barrada, and others. From the deserters, who were continually coming over with misery painted in their countenances, it appeared, that they were perishing of famine in their trenches. Guemes, with his brave officers, Roxas A——, Tarenos, La Madrid, Cardad, &c. compelled Serna to retire at last with great loss, and to renounce his designs upon the cities before mentioned. These flattering occurrences were only interrupted by the lamentable revalry of the Orientals with the capital. Although Artigas, by means of his chiefs, succeeded in gaining over the greatest part of those whom his conduct had alienated, there were still many who remained firm in their resolution of a separation from his authority, a conduct which they considered necessary to the safety of the republic. Of these, not a few were of the province of Entre Rios, by their chiefs Erenu and Samanuego, who lowering their tone acknowledged that they had been wrong, and sought the friendship of the director. A circumstance which might possibly lead to the overthrow of an ambitions man, and assure the liberty of the country was not to be despised. Resentment for personal insult might also perhaps have had its influence with the director; he had just received from Astigas, a letter couched in the most declamatory and abusive language; accusing him of paying no regard to his offers by letter, of sending deputies to the union, charging him with connivance at the supplies furnished the Portuguese, with being in their interest, and threatening to pursue him even into the capital itself.

1818.

The director with a view of securing the Baxada de Santa Fee, which commands the interior country of Buenos Ayres, and at the same time of furnishing assistance to the inhabitants of Entre Rios,

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despatched a body of troops under Montes de Oca. These were furiously attacked by a detachment from Artigas, and completely defeated. This unfavorable occurrence did not deter the director from his design; he despatched Col. Marcos Balcarce with reinforcements to take the field anew. The Orientals inflamed by that rage which characterizes civil wars, and the more on this occasion, as they regarded themselves as ungenerously attacked by their countrymen, at the moment they were fighting the enemies of the republic, with an impetuosity bordering on desperation, fell upon the army of Balcarce, and after a short but brave resistance on the part of the latter, victory declared itself for the Orientals. Let us deeply lament the fatal policy, or necessity of delaying with our own hands the progress of events, by which we are to gain our independence, and turning upon one another, those arms, which ought to be reserved only for our common enemies.

About the same time news of a much more serious nature, reached the capital and produced the most painful sensations. While San Martin and O'Higgins were endeavoring to reduce the last strong hold of the Spaniards in Chili, the fortress of Talcaguana, the vice roy of Lima, with all possible despatch, threw fifteen hundred men into that place, which, in point of strength may be compared to Gibraltar. The army of Chili, under the command of San Martin, was increased to nearly double its number by the new levies among the Chilians; but time was requisite to train and discipline them. O'Higgins took possession of the town of Conception, of which Talcaguana is the seaport. Here, a great part of the summer was passed away in skirmishes, in which the enemy were generally worsted. San Martin was, however, occupied in designs of greater magnitude; he was unremittingly engaged in preparing to strike the same blow in Peru, which had so successfully paralized the power of Spain in Chili. The want of transports was the principal cause of delay, as a march through the desert of Atacama would be impracticable. The vice roy dreading the enterprise of San Martin, and knowing the materials by which he was himself surrounded, conceived it most prudent to risk the fate of Peru in Chili. Accordingly after an effort, which in the present fallen state of the Spanish power, might be considered great, he collected about five thousand men, which were hastily embarked for Talcaguana under Osorio, leaving Peru entirely defenceless. Osorio had scarcely reached that place, when he commenced preparations for proceeding directly to the capital of Chili; he calculated with confidence on the superiority of his troops over those, whom experience had not yet taught him to respect; he also flattered himself with being able to overtake the army of O'Higgins, before he could form a junction with San Martin. Osorio taking with him nearly all the garrison of Talcaguana, together with two thousand of the natives of Chili, marched rapidly through the province of Conception with an army of nearly eight thousand men. Before he

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passed the Maule, the patriot army had already formed a junction, and consisted of an equal number of regulars, besides considerable bodies of the militia of the country. In a few days it was completely organized and consolidated; but so large a body of men, when collected, soon began to experience considerable wants. The capital of Chili confidently trusted to the abilities and valor of San Martin, while the circumstance of the wants of his army, when made known to them, afforded an opportunity of displaying a magnanimity which we have unjustly supposed to have been buried beneath the ruins of Greece and Rome. San Martin announced that his army was ready to take the field against the enemies of the country, and that all were willing to sacrafice their lives in its defence, but that it was in want of bread and other supplies. The effect which this intimation produced in the noble minded people of Chili, is best displayed in the reply which they made through the different officers of the municipalty and corporations.

"Your excellency," said they, "has just informed us that our brethren in the field of battle, are in hourly expectation of being called upon to shed their blood and sacrifice their lives for our preservation. Your excellency recalls to our recollection, the sad image of Chili, laid waste for two years and an half, with an atrocity truly Spanish; and if our children, our fathers, and our wives, who (terrified at the chains and gibbets preparing for them by the monsters that have reached the plains of Talca) turn their tearful eyes towards the brave that, on the banks of Tangeuca, have sworn to perish sooner than behold their desolation. But your excellency, at the same time, intimates to us that these brave men are in want of bread and other supplies, in order to sustain the rigorous arms destined to exterminate our enemy, and that the public fund having been exhausted, there scarcely remained a sufficiency for the hospital, where the wounds received in our defence are to be healed." "And what does your excellency expect will be the reply of the Chilians to a representation so mournful and affecting? That all our fortunes, without reserve, belong to *our country*. That from this moment we request, that your excellency will be pleased to accept the spontaneous offer of whatever silver we have in our possession, together with the vow which we make before our country and universe, that so long as the war shall last, and the wants of Chili may require it, there shall not be seen a single article of plate in our houses."

"The people of Chili are unwilling that the silver of the churches should be touched, until that which belongs to individuals shall be entirely exhausted, we shall then humbly say before the Supreme Being, *To preserve the precious gifts of life and liberty, which those bestowed upon us, we present ourselves naked, to implore thy protection, while we endeavor to support thy ordinances with the aid of those things which we had set apart to adorn thy worship; our vows and ardent*

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adoration shall henceforth be the most pure and becoming homage we can offer Thee."

"In the mean while, will your excellency be pleased to accept the offer on the part of the secular and regular clergy, of whatever articles of plate belonging to them in particular, and which do not appertain to the ceremonies of religion, and whatever belongs to the magistrates and corporate bodies, which we offer in our name and in the name of the people of Santiago."

"Your excellency will therefore be pleased to accept these offerings, and to inform our brethren that they may rely on the utmost exertions of our gratitude."

This unexpected but sublime display of gratitude, was replied to by the director in a suitable manner; accepting their offer, he declared himself unable to find expressions sufficiently strong to do justice to the magnanimity of their conduct; but for the purpose of commemorating so glorious an action, he ordered the following inscriptions to be engraven on the two columns which adorn the eastern and western entrances of the city:

"*On the 5th of March*, 1818, *the people of Santiago, voluntarily stripped themselves of all their plate and utensils of silver, protesting that they would acquire no others, until their country shall be out of danger.*"

"*Nations of the universe! Strangers who enter Chili, say whether such a people deserve to be slaves.*"

The patriot army lost no time after its junction, in marching to meet the enemy. The army of Osores had already passed Talca; it was not long before a continual skirmishing took place between the invaders and the patriots. These were kept up for several days, until the nineteenth, when an affair of some importance took place between the advanced corps under O'Higgins, and a part of the Spanish army, in which the latter was compelled to fall back with considerable loss, being pursued into the very streets of Talca. The whole Spanish force had been compelled to fall back upon its steps. Osores now discovered that his contempt of San Martin's army had led him into error: it was so much superior to his, particularly in cavalry, that the chances of success would be decidedly against him; knowing that in all probability San Martin would attack him the next morning with his whole force, and that if defeated, with a large river and numerous bodies of militia in his rear, retreat would be no longer possible. In this critical situation, by the advance of general Ordines, he determined to select two thousand of his best troops, and try the fortune of a night attack, which, if successful, would enable him to retire without fear of pursuit. The principal part of the army had in the evening, halted within a short distance of Talca; the remainder of the infantry having arrived, and the ground being reconnoitered, orders were given about nine o'clock, for each division to occupy the position assigned to it. The right wing had already been posted, and the

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left was also in motion, when the enemy rushed upon them in the most furious and unexpected manner; the baggage and artillery were first thrown into confusion, which was soon communicated to the troops on their march; these, after a short resistance, broke and dispersed in every direction, in spite of the exertions of their leaders. The director of Chili, who commanded in person, was severely wounded in the arm, in his efforts to rally them. The right, however, under the immediate command of that excellent officer, colonel Las Heras, retired in good order, and together with some other bodies, collected by the exertions of San Martin and his officers, continued the contest for some time, but were compelled at last to give way.—The next morning presented a spectacle truly melancholy; an army, of which the day before our country might justly have been proud; the best appointed that had ever taken the field on the side of independence in South America, stripped of its artillery and baggage, and more than one half dispersed, and this without having been beaten.

San Martin conducted the fragments of his army to the narrow pass of Angulemu, which lies on the route to Santiago, and which the enemy could not avoid without making a very considerable circuit. Here he remained in the most painful situation, deprived of his baggage, and his men in want of every thing. In the mean time the stragglers, dispersed through the vallies of Chili, spread the most disheartning accounts among the inhabitants, and so complete was supposed to have been the defeat of San Martin, that the partizans of Spain, wherever any of them happened to be, could scarcely refrain from openly declaring themselves. San Martin, with the director, whose presence was required in the capital, made it a hasty visit for the purpose of inspiring confidence in the people, and of procuring the means of recomposing his army. He now judged it most prudent to fall back upon the capital, where his army could be recruited with greater celerity, and intending in case of defeat to retire into the city, which the director was actively engaged in placing in a state of defence. The army under the creative hand of San Martin, with a celerity almost incredible, in the course of a few days, and after a march of eighty leagues, once more presented a formidable front on the plains of *Maipu*. The most animated proclamations were circulated through the country by him, and the director; hope was seen to revive and the patriot army was animated by a desparation gathered even from its late disgrace. The news of this lamentable occurrence arriving at the same time with that of the misfortunes of the eastern shore, cast a gloomy shade over Buenos Ayres. The most melancholy anticipations filled the breast of every American, while the Spaniards among us discovered their joy, on some occasions, with very little dircretion. Our apprehensions induced us to believe, that the affairs of Chili were still worse than the government had been willing to com-

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municate; the very importance of the contest in that country, was enough to produce doubts in the minds of the most sanguine. Osorio finding the success of his attack to have so far exceeded his expectations, determined to follow up his blows, but having himself experienced a considerable loss, he was somewhat retarded in setting off: his march was notwithstanding rapid, having approached the Maipu in twelve days after the dispersion of the patriot army. On the third and fourth of April, there were frequent skirmishes, and early in the morning of the fifth the two armies came in sight of each other; the body of the Spanish forces having crossed the Maipu. The whole morning was passed in manoeuvering; each chief in vain endeavored to gain some advantage over his opponent. San Martin rode incessantly along his lines, addressing each individual corps, and infusing into them his own feelings, while the patriotic songs and marches resounded through the army. Seeing at last, that there was no probability of his being attacked that day, by the Spaniards, and finding his men roused to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, he gave orders to advance. With the exception of a small height, which the enemy had occupied with some pieces of artillery, the ground was nearly level, and well adopted to military manoevres. The infantry was placed under the command of general Balcarce, colonel Las Heras on the right wing, and colonel Alvarado on the left; the artillery and cavalry posted on each wing, and a strong reserve in the rear, under colonel Quintana. In this order, the army moved towards the enemy, who opened a dreadful fire from his infantry, and from several pieces of artillery posted on the small elevation before mentioned, but without arresting its progress; a body of the enemy's cavalry charged at the same time, but were driven back by those of the country, who pursued them even under their guns. The action now became general and bloody; our line, at last, appeared to vaccillate, but at this moment the reserve being ordered up, the whole returned to the charge, and with an irresistible impetus carried every thing before them. The resistance of the enemy was however, so obstinate, that they had to be literally pushed from the ground with the bayonet. The regiment of Burgos composed of the best troops of Spain, and twelve hundred strong was not broken until after repeated charges, which San Martin is said to have led in person. The remnant of the enemy's force then threw themselves into some narrow lanes, made by walls, and under their shelter commenced the contest anew, but were at length entirely overcome. This action lasted from noon until six o'clock in the evening, and was contested on either side with a courage and firmness worthy of the great prize which was at stake; not merely the independence of Chili, but perhaps of South America. The history of wars furnish us with few instances of a victory more complete; the whole Spanish army was annihilated; artillery, military chest, every thing belonging to it, fell into

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the hands of San Martin. Its chief alone fled with some horsemen, when he saw that the day was lost. Ordonez, the second in command, one hundred and ninety-eight officers, three thousand rank and file surrendered their arms, and two thousand of their dead covered the field of battle. The loss of the country did not exceed one thousand in killed and wounded. The capital from its extreme depression was now elevated to the highest pitch of joy. The streets before silent and fearful, were suddenly filled by the inhabitants, like the blood, which after some moments of deep suspence, and anxious fear, rushes again from the heart to the extremeties of the body. The scene which ensued, can only be conceived by those who have witnessed the sublime effusions of popular feeling, when each thinks his own happiness that of his posterity, his friends, and his country are entirely involved. There was a general and almost universal exclamation, "AT LAST, WE ARE INDEPENDENT!" while San Martin was hailed as the genius of the revolution.

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B.

Manifesto directed to all nations by the General Constituent Congress of the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata.

Honorable fame is the jewel which mortals prize above existence itself, and which it is their duty to defend above every earthly good, however great and valuable. The government of Spain has accused the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata, before the nations of the world, of perfidy and rebellion, and has denounced as perfidious and rebellious, the memorable declaration of independence of the 9th of July, 1816, by the national congress of Tucuman; imputing to them ideas of anarchy, and intentions of introducing sedicious principles into other countries, at the very moment of soliciting the friendship of those countries, and their recognition of this declaration, that they may assume a place among the nations of the earth. The first among the most sacred duties of the national congress is to do away so foul an imputation, and to justify the cause of our country, by publishing to the world the motives, and the cruelties which concurred to impel to the declaration of independence. This is not a submission which concedes to any one the right to dispose of a condition purchased by America with torrents of blood, and every species of sacrifice, and endurance. It is a duty of imperious obligation which it owes to its wounded honor, and to the respect due to other nations.

We shall wave all discussion with respect to the right of conquest, of papal grants, of other titles by which the Spaniards have supported their domination: it is unnecessary for us to recur to principles which may give rise to theoretic disputes, or to questions which have found advocates. We appeal to facts, forming a lamentable contrast between the sufferings endured by us, and the tyranny of the Spaniards. We shall expose to view the frightful abyss, into which these provinces were about to be precipitated, had not the wall of their emancipation been interposed. We shall give reasons, the soundness of which no rational being can question, unless it be his aim to persuade a nation to renounce for ever all idea of felicity, and adopt for its system ruin, opprobrium, and shameful acquiescense. We shall exhibit this picture to the world, that no one may contemplate it, without being deeply affected with the same feelings that belong to ourselves.

From the moment the Spaniards took possession of these countries they thought only of securing their power, of exterminating, and degrading. Their systems of devastation were immediately set on foot, and were continued without intermission for three hundred

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years. They began by assassinating the Incas of Peru, and they afterwards practiced the same upon the other chiefs who fell into their power The inhabitants of the country, attempting to repel these ferocious invaders, become victims to fire, and sword, by reason of the inferiority of their arms, while their cities and villages were consigned to the flames, every where applied without pity or discrimination.

The Spaniards then placed a barrier to the increase of the population of the country, they prohibited by vigorous laws the entrance of strangers into it, and in latter times they opened it to the immoral, to convicts cast out of the peninsula. Neither the vast, but beautiful deserts, formed here by exterminating the natives; nor the benefit which might accrue to Spain herself, by the cultivation of plains fertile as they are extensive; nor the existence of minerals, the richest, and most abundant of the globe; nor the attraction of innumerable productions, some until then unknown, others precious from their intrinsic value, and capable of animating industry. and enlivening commerce, carrying the one to its highest pitch, and the other to the utmost extent of opulence; nor, in fine, the unceasing exertions necessary to keep the fairest regions of the earth submerged in wretchedness, had sufficient influence to change the dark, and portentous policy of the court of Madrid. From one city to another of this country, there are hundreds of leagues lying wast and uninhabited. Entire nations have disappeared, buried under the ruins of mines, or perishing in an atmosphere poisoned with antimony, under the diabolical institution of the mitas. Neither the lamentations of all Peru, nor the energetic representations of the most zealous ministers, have been sufficient to put a stop to this system of extermination.

The science of working mines, regarded with indifference and neglect, has remained without undergoing those improvements common to other nations in an enlightened age; thus rudely wrought, the richest have disappeared, either by the dilapidation of excavated hills, or by the influx of water. Other rare and valuable productions of the country, have remained in the great storehouse of nature without having excited the attention, and zeal of the government; and if at any time an enlightened individual presumed to publish these advantages, he was sure to be reprehended by the court, and compelled to be silent, lest, possibly, a diminution of the demand for some of the productions of Spain might ensue.

It was forbidden to teach us the liberal sciences, we were only permitted to learn the Latin grammar, the philosophy of the schools, civil, and ecclesiastical jurisprudence. The viceroy Don Joaquin Pirio, gave much offence by permitting a nautical school at Buenos Ayres, and in compliance with a mandate of the court, it was ordered to be shut, while at the same time it was strictly prohibited to send our youth to Paris for the purpose of studying the science of chemistry, in order to teach it on their return.

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Commerce was ever a monopoly in the hands of merchants of the peninsula, and of their consignees sent by them to America. All public offices, and employments belonged exclusively to the Spaniards and although Americans were equally called to them by the laws, they were appointed only in rare instances, and even then, not without satiating the cupidity of the court by enormous sums of money. Of one hundred and seventy vice roys that have governed in this country, but four of them have been Americans; and of six hundred and ten captains general, and governors, all but fourteen have been Spaniards. The same took place in every other post of importance, and even amongst the common clerks of offices, it was rare to meet with Americans.

Every thing was disposed on the part of Spain, in America, to effect the degradation of her sons. It did not suit the policy of Spain that sages should rise up amongst us, fearful lest men of genius should bethink them of advancing the condition of their country, and of improving the morals, and excellent capacities, with which its sons have been gifted by their Creator. It was her policy incessantly to diminish, and depress, our population, lest, one day, we should imagine aught against her domination, guarded by a force, contemptible for regions so various and vast. Commerce was exclusively confined to herself from a mean suspicion that opulence would make us proud, and render us capable of aspiring to free ourselves from so many vexations. The growth of industry was checked, in order that the means of escaping from our wretchedness, and poverty, might be denied us; and we were excluded from all participation in public employments, in order that the natives of the peninsula might have entire influence over the country, so as to form the inclinations, and habits, necessary for retaining us in a state of dependence, that would neither permit us to think, or to act, but in conformity to the modes dictated by the Spaniards.

This system was acted upon with the utmost rigor by the vice roys: each of them was invested with the authority of a visier: their power was sufficient to annihilate all those who dared to displease them: however great the vexations they practised, we had to bear them with patience, while these were compared by their satelites, and worshippers to the effects of the wrath of God. The complaints which were addressed to the throne were either lost in the distance of many thousand leagues, over which they had to pass, or they were smothered in the offices at Madrid by the protectors of those who tyrannized over us. Not only was this system not softened, but there was no hope of its moderating in the course of time. We had no voice, direct, or indirect, in legislating for our country: this was done for us in Spain, without conceding to us the privilege of sending delegates, or councellors, to be present, and to state what would be suitable, or otherwise, as is practised by the cities of Spain. Neither did we possess such influence in the government set over us, as might serve to temper the severity of its administration. We knew that there was no remedy for us but to bear with patience; and that for

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him who could not resign himself to every abuse death was considered too light a punishment: for, in such cases, penalties have been invented of unheard of cruelty, and revolting to every sentiment of humanity.

Less enormous, and less pertinaciously persevered in, were the outrages which compelled Holland to take up arms, and to free herself from Spain; those which induced Portugal to shake off the same yoke; those which placed the Swiss, under William Tell, in opposition to the emperor of Germany; those which induced the United States of North America to resist the encroachments of Great Britain; or those of many other countries, which, without being separated by nature from their parent-states, have separated themselves, in order to shake off an iron yoke, and to take into their own hands the care of their own felicity, than what we have experienced. We, however, separated by an immense ocean, inhabiting a country gifted with every variety of climate, possessing distinct wants, and treated like flocks, and herds, have exhibited the singular example of patient endurance, under such degradation: remaining obedient, even when the most seducing circumstances presented themselves for casting off the yoke, and driving the Spanish power to the other side of the ocean.

We address ourselves to the nations of the world, and to manifest so much effrontery, as to think of deceiving them in matters to which they have been witnesses, is impossible. America remained tranquil during the whole war of the succession, and awaited the termination of the contest between the houses of Austria and Bourbon, in order to follow the fortunes of Spain. A favorable occasion then presented itself to free ourselves from so many vexations; but we did not seize it, on the contrary we exerted ourselves in her defence, arming in her cause alone, and with a view of maintaining our connexion with her. Without having any concern in her differences with European nations, we have embarked in her wars, we have suffered the devastations, we have born without a murmur all the privations to which we were exposed by her nullity on the ocean, one of which was the interruption of the usual communication with her.

In the year 1806, our country was invaded: an English expedition surprised and captured Buenos Ayres, the capital, through the imbecility of the vice roy, who, though without European troops, had numerous resources fully adequate, which he knew not how to avail himself of. We prayed assistance from the court to enable us to defend ourselves against a new expedition which threatened us, and the consolation we received was a royal mandate to defend ourselves as we could. The following year the eastern shore (Banda Oriental) was occupied by a new and more formidable expedition: the town of Monte Video was besieged, and taken by assult: here the British troops were augmented, and a powerful force prepared for making another attack on the capital, and in fact the attack was made a few

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months afterwards; happily the valor of our citizens triumphed over the enemy in the assault, compelling him, after a brilliant victory, to evacuate Monte Video, and the whole of the eastern shore.

A more favorable opportunity of rendering ourselves independent could not have been desired than that which now presented itself, if the spirit of rebellion or perfidy had been capable of moving us, or if we had been susceptible of those principles of anarchy and sedition imputed to us. At that time we had abundant cause for doing what we have since done. It was by no means our duty to be indifferent to the state of degradation, in which we had so long existed. If at any time victory authorizes the conqueror to be the arbiter of his own destinies, we might justly then have fixed ours; we were with arms in our hands, triumphat, and there was not a single Spanish regiment to oppose us; and if neither victory nor force can give right, ours was still greater no longer to tolerate the domination of Spain. We had nothing to apprehend from the forces of the peninsula; its ports were blockaded, and the seas commanded by the fleets of Britain. Notwithstanding the favorable conjuncture thus presented to us by fortune, we chose to preserve our connection with Spain, hoping by this distinguished proof of loyalty to effect a change in the system of the court, and render it sensible of its true interest.

But we flattered ourselves with vain hopes. Spain did not regard this conduct as an evidence of the generosity of our dispositions, but as a bare act of duty. America still continued to be ruled with the same tyranny, and our sacrifices, though most heroic, had no other effect, than to add a few more pages to the history of that oppression, under which we had so long groaned.

Such was the situation in which we were found by the revolution of Spain. We, who were habituated to yield a blind obedience to all her mandates, readily acknowledged Ferdinand the 7th of Bourbon, although raised to the throne by a tumult at Aranjuez, which deposed his father. We saw him soon after pass over into France; we saw him there detained with his parents, and brothers, and deprived of the crown which he had just usurped. We saw, that Spain, every where occupied by French troops, was shaken to her centre, and that in her civil convulsions, the most distinguished individuals, who governed with wisdom in the provinces, or served with honor in her armies, fell victims to the insensate fury of rivals. That in the midst of these vibrations, governments rose up in each of those provinces, styling themselves supreme, and claiming sovreign authority over America. A junta of this kind, formed at Seville, had the presumption to be the first to demand our obedience, and we were obliged by our vice roys to recognize and yield it submission. In less than two months, another, entitled the supreme junta of Gallicia, pretended to the same right, and sent us a vice roy, with the indecent menace, that thirty thousand men should also be sent

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if necessary. The Junta Central next erected itself: we immediately obeyed it, without having had the slightest share in its formation, zealously and efficaciously, complying with all its decrees. We sent succours of money, voluntary donations, and supplies of every kind, to prove that our fidelity would stand any trial to which it could be subjected.

We had been tempted by the agents of king Joseph Bonaparte, and great promises were held out to us of bettering our condition, should we unite ourselves with his interests. We knew that the Spaniards of greatest note had already declared for him; that the nation was without armies, and without the vigorous direction requisite in moments of so much difficulty. We were informed that the troops of Rio de la Plata, who were prisoners at London, after the first expedition of the English, had been conducted to Cadiz, and there treated with the greatest inhumanity, and that in a state of nakedness they had been sent off to fight against the French. Yet our situation continued unchanged until the Andelusias having been occupied by the French, the Junta Central was dispersed.

Under these circumstances there was published a paper, without date, and signed only by the archbishop of Laodicea, who had been president of the extinguished Junta Central. By this paper a regency was ordered to be formed, and three persons as those who should compose it, were designated. An occurrence, so unexpected, could not but cause us to hesitate and ponder over it seriously. Our situation became alarming, and we had reason to be apprehensive of being involved in the misfortunes of the capital. We reflected upon its uncertain and vibrating state, more especially as the French had already presented before the gates of Cadiz and the island of Leon: we distrusted the new regents, who were unknown to us, the most distinguished Spaniards having passed over to the French, the Junta Central dissolved, its members denounced as traitors in the public papers. We saw the inefficacy of the decree published by the archbishop of Laodicea, and the insufficiency of his powers for the establishment of a regency; we knew not but that the French had taken possession of Cadiz, and completed the conquest of Spain in the interval which must elapse before these papers could come to our hands; and we doubted whether a government, formed out of the fragments of the Junta Central, would not soon meet with the same fate. Considering the perils which surrounded us, we resolved to take upon ourselves the care of our own safety, until we should obtain better information of the true condition of Spain, and whether her government had acquired stability. Instead of discovering this stability, we soon learned the fall of the regency, and saw it succeeded by continual changes of government in moments the most arduous and critical.

In the meanwhile we formed our junta, in imitation of those of Spain. It was purely provisional, and in the name of our captive

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king. The vice roy Don Baltazar Hidaldo Cisneros despatched circulars to the provincial governors, in order to light up the flames of civil war, and arm provinces against provinces.

The Rio de la Plata was immediately blockaded by a squadron: the governor of Cordova immediately set about raising an army: the governor of Potosi and the president of Charcas, marched with another to the confines of Salta, and the president of Cusco presenting himself with a third army on the margin of the Desaguedero entered into an armistice of forty days, and before its term had elapsed recommenced hostilities, attacked our troops, and a bloody battle ensued, in which he lost fifteen hundred men. Memory is horror-struck in recalling the abominable cruelties then perpetrated by Goyeneche in Cochabamba. Would to God! it were possible to forget this ungrateful American, who, on the day of his entrance into the city, ordered the respectable governor intendant Antesana to be shot, and observing with complacency, from the balcony of his house, this iniquitous assassination, ferociously cried out to his troops not to shoot the victim in the head, as it was wanted to be stuck upon a pike, and when it was severed from the body, the headless trunk was dragged through the streets, while at the same time the brutal soldiers were barberously permitted to dispose at pleasure of the lives and property of the inhabitants during many successive days.

Posterity will be shocked by the ferocity manifested towards us by men, who ought to have been interested in the preservation of the Americans; and they will regard with astonishment the madness of attempting to punish as a crime an act marked with the indelible seal of fidelity and love. The name of Ferdinand of Bourbon preceded all the acts of the government, and headed its public documents.—The Spanish flag waved on our vessels, and served to animate our soldiers. The provinces seeing themselve reduced to a kind of orphanage by the dispersion of the national government, by the want of another of a legitimate character, and capable of commanding respect, and by the conquest of nearly the whole of the mother country, had raised up for themselves an argus to watch for their safety, and to preserve them entire, so that they might be restored to the captive king, in case he should regain his liberty. This measure was sanctioned by the example of Spain herself, and produced by her declaration, that America was an integral part of the monarchy, possessing equal rights, and which had already been practised in Monte Video, at the instance of the Spaniards themselves. We offered to continue our pecuniary aids for the prosecution of the war, and a thousand times published the uprightness, and sincerity of our intentions.—Great Britain to which Spain was then so much indebted, interposed her mediation, and good offices, to prevent our being treated in a manner so harsh, and severe. But the Spaniards were fixed in their sanguinary caprice, rejected the mediation, and despatched rigorous orders to all their generals to prosecute the castigation of the Ameri-

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cans with redoubling activity; scaffolds were every where erected, and ingenuity was taxed for inventions to frighten and afflict.

From thenceforward, no pains were spared, and no means left untried, to divide, and engage us in mutual extermination. They have spread abroad the most atrocious calumnies against us, attributing to us the intention of renouncing our holy religion, and of encouraging an unbounded licentiousness of manners. They have made a religious war against us, contriving by a thousand ways to disturb, and alarm the conscience, and causing the Spanish bishop to publish ecclesiastical censures, and excommunications, and to sow through the means of some ignorant confessors fanatical doctrines even in the penitential tribunal. By means of those religious discords, families have been divided against themselves; they have occasioned dissentions between father and son; they have broken asunder the delightful ties which unite husband and wife; they have sown rancour, and hatred between the most affectionate brothers; they have, in fine, endeavored to poison all the harmony of society.

They have adopted the dreadful system of putting men to death indiscriminately, for no other purpose than to diminish our numbers; and on entering our towns have been known to put to death even the unfortunate market people, driving them into the public square in groups, and shooting them down with cold blooded, wanton cruelty. The cities of Chuquisaca, and Cochabamba have more than once, been theatres of this shocking barbarity.

They have compelled our soldiers, taken prisoners, to serve against their wills in the ranks of their armies, carrying the officers in irons to distant outposts, where it was impossible for them to preserve health for a single year, while others have been starved to death in dungeons, and many have been forced to labor on the public works. They have wantonly shot the bearer of flags of truce, and have committed the utmost horrors upon chiefs after their surrender, and other principal personages, notwithstanding the humanity that had been shown by us to those prisoners who fell into our hands; in proof of this assertion we need only mention the Deputy Matos of Potosi, captain general Pumacagua, general Angulo, and his brother, the commandant Munecas, and other partizan chiefs, shot in cold blood, many days after having surrendered as prisoners,

In the district of Valle Grande they indulged themselves in the brutal sport of cutting off the ears of the natives, and then transmitting a panier full of them to head quarters; they afterwards destroyed the town by fire; burnt about forty populous villages of Peru, and took a hellish pleasure in shutting up the inhabitants in their houses before setting them on fire, in order that their unhappy victims might be burnt alive.

They have not only shewn themselves cruel and implacable, in murdering our countrymen, but they have thrown aside all regard to decency and morality, causing old men of the religious profession, in

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the public places, and women, made fast to a cannon, but first stripped naked, and their bodies exposed to shame.

They have established an inquisitorial system for all these punishments: they have dragged out peaceful inhabitants from their houses, and transported them across the ocean to be tried for pretended offences, and have executed without trial a multitude of citizens.

They have chased our vessels, sacked our sea-coasts, murdered defenceless inhabitants without sparing clergymen, and those in extreme old age; by the order of general Pezuella, they burnt the town of Puno, and meeting with no others, they put to the sword old men women, and children. They have excited atrocious conspiracies among the Spaniards residing in the midst of us, imposing upon us the painful necessity of putting to death the fathers of numerous families.

They have compelled our brothers and sons to take up arms against us, and forming armies by the impressment of the natives of Peru, have compelled them under the command of Spanish officers to fight against our troops. They have excited domestic insurrections, corrupting with money, and every species of seduction, the pacific inhabitants of the country, in order to involve us in a frightful anarchy, and to enable them to attack us weakened and divided. They have displayed a new invention of horror, in poisoning fountains and food, when beaten in La Paz by general Pinelo; and the mildness with which they were treated, when compelled to surrender at discretion, was rewarded by the barbarous act of blowing up the barracks, which had been previously mined for the purpose.

They have had the baseness to attempt to tamper with our governors, and generals, and abusing the sacred privilege of flags of truce: they have repeatedly written letters inciting to treason. They have declared that the laws of war, recognized by civilized nations, ought not to be observed towards us, and with contemptuous indifference replied to general Belgrano that treaties could not be entered into, or kept, with insurgents.

Such had been the conduct of Spaniards towards us when Ferdinand of Bourbon was restored to the throne. We then believed that the termination of our troubles had at last arrived; it seemed to us, that the king, who had been formed in adversity, would not be indifferent to the miseries of his people; we therefore despatched a deputy to him, to make known our situation. We could not doubt but that he would give us a reception worthy a benign prince, and that he would feel an interest in our supplications, as well from gratitude as from that beneficence, which the Spanish countries had praised to the skies. But a new, and before unknown ingratitude was reserved to be experienced by the countries of America, surpassing all example that the history of the worst of tyrants can present.

Scarcely had he returned to Madrid, when he, without ceremony, at once, declared us insurgents. He disdained to listen to our com-

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plaints, or hearken to our supplications, tendering a pardon as the only favor he could offer. He confirmed in authority the vice roys, governors, and generals, who had perpetrated the bloody deeds before detailed. He declared as a crime of state, the having pretended to form a constitution for ourselves, that we might be placed beyond the reach of the capricious, arbitrary, and tyranic power, to which we had been subjected for three centuries; a measure which could displease none but a prince, who is inimical to justice and beneficence, and consequently unworthy of ruling.

With the aid of his ministers, he at once set to work in collecting forces for the purpose of being sent against us. He caused numerous armies to be transported to this country, in order to complete the devastations, conflagrations, and robberies, so well begun. He availed himself of the moment when complimented by the principal European powers on his return from France, to engage them to deny us every succor, and to look on with indifference, while he was gratifying the cruelty of his disposition in destroying us.

He has established a peculiar regulation for the treatment of American privateers, barbarously ordering their crews to be hanged; he has forbidden the observance towards us of the Spanish naval ordinance, established in conformity with the laws of nations, and he ha denied every thing to us which we invariably allow to his subjects captured by our cruisers. He sent his generals with decrees of pardon which they caused to be published with no view but to deceive the simple, and ignorant, in order to facilitate their entrance into cities and towns; but giving at the same time private instructions, authorizing, and commanding them after having thus obtained possession, to hang, burn, sack, confiscate, assassinate, and to inflict every possible suffering, on such as had availed themselves of such suppositious pardons. It is in the name of Ferdinand of Bourbon that the heads of captured patriot officers have been stuck up on the highways; that a distinguished partizan leader has been actually empaled; and that the monster Centano, after having murdered col. Gamargo in the same manner, cut off his head, and sent it as a present to general Pezuela, informing him that it was a miracle of the *Virgin del Carmen.*

It has been by a torrent of evils, and bitter afflictions such as these, that we have been compelled to take the only course that remained to us. We reflected deeply on our situation, and future fate, and turning our eyes to every quarter, we were unable to see any thing but the three elements, of which it must necessarily be composed, opprobrium, ruin, and abject submission. What could America expect from a king, actuated at the very moment of seating himself on the throne by sentiments so inhuman? Of a king, who previous to commencing his devastations, hastened to prevent the interposition of any other prince to restrain the effects of his insensate fury? Of a king, who has no other rewards but chains, and gibbets, for

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the immense sacrifices of his Spanish subjects in releasing him from captivity? Of subjects, who, at the expense of their blood, and of every privation, have redeemed him from a prison, in order to bind his temples with a crown? If those men, to whom he owed so much, thus received death, were doomed to perpetual imprisonment, or to base slavery, for no other crime than that of having framed a constitution, what might we not expect to be reserved for us. To hope for a benign treatment from him, and from his bloody ministers, would have been to seek among tigers for the mildness of the dove.

Then, indeed, would have been repeated towards us the ensanguined scenes of Caracas, Carthagena, Quito, and Santa Fee; we should then have spurned the ashes of the eighty thousand persons who have fallen victims to the fury of the enemy, and whose illustrious names with justice call for revenge, and we should have merited the execrations of every succeeding generation, condemned to serve a master, always disposed to treat them, and who by his nullity on the sea has become impotent to protect them from foreign invasion.

We therefore, thus impelled by the Spaniards, and their king having declared ourselves independent, and in self defence against tyranny, have staked our honors, our lives, and our fortunes. We have sworn before the Supreme Judge of the Universe, that we will never renounce the cause of justice, that we will not permit the country which he gave us to be buried beneath ruins, and submerged in blood by the hands of executioners; that we shall never forget the obligations that we owe to save her from the dangers which threaten her, nor the sacred right to require of us all necessary sacrifices to prevent her from being soiled by the foul footsteps of tyrants and usurpers. This declaration is engraven on our hearts, that we may never cease to combat in her cause. And at the same time that we unfold to the world the motives that have induced to this step, we have the honor to make known our desire of living in peace with all, and even with Spain herself from the moment she thinks proper to accept our offer.

Given at the congressional hall in Buenos Ayres, 25th of October, 1816.

Dr. Pedros Ignacio de Castro y Banos.
President.

Jose Euginio de Elias,
Secretary.

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D.

Notes, which the Secretary of State, in the Department of the Government, and of foreign relations, places in the hands of Messrs. the Deputies of the United States of North America for the information of the President of those States.

The nation is styled the United Provinces of South America.

The number and denomination of each, with its intendencies and chief towns of districts (Cabezas de Pardido) according to the former state of the vice royalty appears in Document No. 1.

In 1814. five more provinces were erected, whose names are, Tucumax, Mendoza or Cuyo, Corrientes, Entre Rios, and Oriental del Rio de la Plata.

The capitals of the two latter, are the town of Conception del Urugway or Arroya de la China, and the city of Monte Video.

Out of the fourteen provinces, into which the territory of the ancient vice royalty is now subdivided, there are nine in the hands of the patriots, which are stated in said document under the title of free provinces; and those occupied with troops or under the influence of the Spanish army, are the other five, whose names are, Potosi, Plata or charcas, Cochabamba, la Paz and Puno.

In all the territory of the ancient royalty, there is but one archbishopric, which is that of La Plata, and six bishopricks which are stated in said document, under the denomination of Suffragans.

The territory of the United Provinces, contains one hundred and forty-five thousand square leagues. Their population according to the nearest estimate amounts to one million, three hundred thousand, without including the aborigines. Their productions, manufactures, and articles of commerce will be seen in statement, No. 2.

The political state of the provinces called free, is quiet and tranquil; they are under the influence of the supreme direction of the states, which resides in Buenos Ayres. They have their governors in the intendencies, or capitals: Lieutenant governors in the chief towns, villages &c. The province of Assumption del Paraguay, is an independent state, as also the Oriental del Rio.

The funds, public revenues, and annual expenditures, will be seen in the statement, No. 3, with the notes on the same.

The land military force of the united territory, appears in the statement No. 4 and 5, the latter shews the amount of arms, and munitions of war, which it possesses in its armies, parks, in its manufactories, and its armory.

The naval force will be seen in the statement Nos. 6 and 7.

The authority of the supreme director, of his secretaries, and of the tribunals of justice, are detailed in the provincial regulations, a copy of which is annexed under No. 8.

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There is a tribunal of prises, which is composed of the secretary of the war department, the president of the chamber of appeals, the asesor del govierno, and the auditor general of war; there is another tribunal which takes cognizance of appeals from the decisions of the former, and is composed of the supreme director of the state, the secretary of state for the government, and for foreign affairs and the secretary of the treasury. This tribunal takes cognizance also, in case of supplication, and all being subject to the reglamento del corso, No. 9, and other special regulations, which, although not appearing in the provincial regulations, established by congress, are notwithstanding been approved by the same.

At the present moment the formation of a constitution for the state, is in progress. A committee consisting of members of congress are assiduously engaged, and will soon present a project of the constitution.

The population of the city of Buenos Ayres, according the census of 1815, amounted to fifty thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine inhabitants. This census was inaccurate and underrated. Since then, the emigration of foreigners has been unusually great, as also the emigration of numerous families from the Banda Oriental, and Entre Rios, so that its population is at present estimated at sixty-two thousand souls.

Besides other institutions, this capital has, what is called the colegio seminario; another institution for the education of youth, called the Union of the South, will be opened on the 25th May next, with a general plan of education, particularly of the languages, and sciences: there is also an academy of jurisprudence: one of drawing, four of the study of medicine, and board for the examination of those who prepare to practice.

There are three printing offices, a public library with twenty thousand volumes: schools for teaching the first elements in every parish: there is a society of men of taste for the stage: another of friends of the country: another of agriculture: a cannon foundery: a manufactory of small arms: one of swords: an armory, three parks of artillery: three powder magazines, and a variety of manufactories in different branches.

The independence of the state was declared at Tucumar the 9th of July, 1816, the congress being assembled at that place, and there sanctioning it. To obtain its acknowledgment by foreign powers, communications and invitations have been made to them, and in Europe there is an envoy extraordinary to its several courts, he is doctor Bernardine de Rivadavia.

These provinces have been defacto independent of Spain since the year 1810, when they openly made war upon her in Peru, in Paragway and in Monte Video. Eearly in 1813, as soon as the province of Potosi was taken possession of by the patriots, they coined money there, impressed with arms of the state, hoisted the national flag,

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and took other public steps, which were equivalent to the most solemn declaration of the new rank which they assumed.

They armed a considerable number of privateers, which have ruined the Spanish trade, and they have even blockaded some ports in the peninsula.

It was not the proclamation of independence which gave origin to the rights of the Americans, it merely recognized them, as they had before existed, and had been claimed since the memorable epocha of the 25th of May, 1810.

It appears unnecessary to make any further explanations of those facts and circumstances, which having come within the knowledge of the commissioners, particularly of late, must have afforded the information desired.

GREGORIA TAGLE.

Buenos Ayres, April 21, 1818.

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No. 1.

Table of the ancient division of the Viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres.

Provinces or Intendencies.	Intendencies.	Archbishopricks.	La Plata.
Buenos Ayres.	Monte Video.	Yampais.	Paraguay.
		Jonina.	Sta. Cauz de la Siera.
	Monte Video.	Palaya and Paspaya suffragans.	La Paz.
	Corrientas La Plata.	Oruro.	Buenos Ayres.
	Sta. Fee.	Paria.	Cordova.
	Maldonado.	Carangas.	Salta.
	Colonia.		
Paragua.	Villa Rica.	St. Cruz de la Siena.	
		Valle Grande.	
	Curiguate.	Misque.	Buenos Ayres.
	Villa Real, Cochabamba.	Eliza.	Paragua.
Cordova.	Mendoza.	Arque—free provinces.	Mendoza.
	Rioja.	Tapicure—including those.	Tucuman.
	St. Juan.	Ayopaya, laid off in 1814.	Salta. [*See note.*]
	St. Louis.	Sacaba.	Corrientes.

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TABLE.—Continued.

Provinces or Intendencies.	Intendencies.	Archbishopricks.	La Plata.
Salta.	Jujui. Tucuman. Santa del Estero La Paz. Catamarca.	Paycayas. Sicasica. Onvasayos. Laricayo.	Oriental. Entre Rios.
Potosi.	Porco Chayante. Chichas. Tarija. Puno. Lipes. Atacama.	Chulumani. Apolobamba. Lampa. Caravaya. Arangaro. Chicuito.	

NOTE.—These are the intendencies and chief towns of subordinate districts; as each one has a number of other districts belonging to it.

Buenos Ayres, April 21, 1818.

TAGLE.

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[No. 2.]

Shewing the productions, manufactures, and branches of commerce, of the free Intendencies and their dependencies.

BUENOS AYRES.

Grain, hides, tallow, wool, hair, horns. These are an inexhaustible supply of commercial resources: the trade with the Pampas Indians alone in montas. wool, salt, bridle reins, and feathers, exceed the sum of $ 100,000 per annum.

PARAGUAY.

Wood of a superior quality of many varieties; the herb mati, tobacco, guambe, and peasaba for cables, honey and molasses, dried sweetmeats, sugar, rice, cotton cloths, various kinds of gums and raisins, beautiful birds.

CORDOVA.

Grain, hides, woollen and cotton cloths, raising of mules and herds, excellent lime, minerals of gold and silver.

MENDOZA.

Dried fruits of many different kinds, wines, and brandy, grain, cattle, woollen cloths, carriage of goods, and wagons for the transportation of commodities to Chili, Buenos Ayres, and other provinces, minerals of gold.

TUCUMAN.

Woods, grain, rice, oranges, mani, tobacco, honey, wax, excellent cheese, woollen and cotton cloths, raising of herds, transportation of merchandise, and wagons.

SALTA.

The raising of herds, mules, of which there is annually sent seventy or eighty thousand head to Peru, grain, sugar, honey, molasses, and brandys, wool of a superior quality, as also of the vacuna, cloths of it, woods, minerals of gold and silver, copper, iron, and tin, sulphur, allum, and vitriol.

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CORIENTES.

Hides, hair, cotton, agi, mani of different kinds, honey, dried sweetmeats, sugar, charcoal, cotton and woollen cloths.

ENTRE RIOS AND BANDA ORIENTAL.

Ox hides, horse hides, deer skins, otter and chin chilla skins, tallow, dried and salt meat.

Buenos Ayres, April 21, 1818.

TAGLE.

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No. 3.

***GENERAL TABLE** furnished by the Secretary of the Treasury, in pursuance of the order of the Supreme Director of the state. shewing the capitals or funds and branches, which compose the mass of the national revenue, its produce in the year 1817, the expenditures, and the balance remaining in the treasury at the end of the same year, with an account of the other funds and capitals of the state, debts, and credits, viz.*

Branches of the Revenue—1st class.	Receipts, 1817.	Expenditures, 1817.	Balance.
Balance in the treasury, 1st January, 1817	880 5¾		
Tenths and old duty of 1 1-2 per cent. on silver			
Fifths of gold			
Sales of land	823 ¼		
First fruits of civil officers	1,508 7¾		
Stamp paper	17,563 2		
Tavern licenses	16,750 2		
Other treasuries,	106,647 4		
Ninths of the state	4,276 6		
Invalidos, (or insolvencies)		260 5½	
Bills of exchange	369,427 0¾	369,427 0¾	
Ordinary revenue	885,074 1¼	65,143 5	
Receipts of the custom house, pledged in the same	1,113,102 3¾	1,113,102 3¾	
Idem. idem.	98,604 6	73,988 4¼	
Receipts from the post office	336,890 3¾	336,558 7½	
Idem of the police	50,156 2	49,484 4½	
	3,001,709 0½	2,007,965 7¼	

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Branches of the Revenue—1st class.	Receipts, 1817.	Expenditures, 1817.	Balance.
Expenditures charged on the mass of the revenue.			
Salaries of civil or political officers		56,164 3¼	
Idem of ministers and foreign agents		9,584 5	
Idem of the military, and expenses of the war department		453,050 2¼	
Contingent expenses		430,853 6¼	
	3,001,709 0½	2,957,619 0½	
Branches of the second class.			
Vacant benefices	17,245 3	6,509 7¼	
Escheats	1,900		
Ecclesiastical first fruits	75		
Ecclesiastical dues	111 5		
Temporarities (or glebes)	6,784 2½	8 959 4	
Military fund	812 5	11,683 6	
Ministerial id.	4,976 2	4,084 5	
Surgeons' id.	93 5		
Municipal war		60 7½	

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General Table—Continued.

Branches of the second class.	Receipts 1817.	Expenditures, 1817.	Balance.
Extraordinary			
Deposits	3,479 6	14.306 6	
	3,037,187 5½	3,003.224 4¼	33,963 1¼
Result or summary.			
Produce of all the branches, 1817, . . .	. .	3,037 187 5½	
Expenditures of the same, in the same, . . .	. .	3,003,224 4¼	
Remaining in the treasury, in cash, . . .	. .	33,963 1¼	
In deposits, ...	. .	6,429 2½	
In capitals of temporarities, placed at interest, redeemable at five per cent.	. .	93,359 3¾	
In good unsettled accounts of former years . .	. .	3.554,404 2¼	
Amount in property, good accounts, deposits, and sums at interest	. .	8,583,155 1½	
Idem, real and personal estate of the commonwealth .	. .	9,310,472 5½	
In advances made by the state treasuries . . .	. .	297,078 7½	

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Balance on accounts liquidated,		759,889 7
Total of the funds of the state,		19,055.597 5¼
Debts of the state,		1,438 054
Balance in favor of the national fund,		17,617 543 5¼

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Exposition of the property and funds of the state, in all their various classes.

In cash in the treasuries of the state, of the custom house, post office, and police		33,963 1¼
In good unsettled accounts of former years		8,554,404 2½
Deposits		6,429 2½
In capitals of temporarities at 5 per cent. interest		93,359 3¾
		8,688,156 1¾

In real and personal estate of the Commonwealth.

By value of the effects in the storehouses of the treasury	2,263,104½ 1¹	
Of amount in custom house chests	2,233 2¾	
Of the custom house and resguardia and fifteen vessels	12,197	
Of the marine and fifteen vessels	188,199	
By value of the public library	158,322 3½	
By idem of the commissariat of clothing	53,462 3½	
By idem of edifices belonging to the state, and under the direction of the secretary of the treasury	928,625 ¼	
By idem of others, in which the state has an interest	70,000	
By idem of mathematical instruments	2,184 4	
By idem of the articles belonging to the police	24,017 2½	9,310,472 5½
By idem to the general of accounts	3,259 ¼	
By idem of the proceeds of the post office and the buildings	60,895 ¼	
By idem of the college de la Union, Temple, and adjacent buildings, &c.	2,000,000	
By idem of the edifice which serves as a military prison	45,000	
By idem of the furniture, &c. of the different offices in the fort or government house	15,000	
By idem of the arms, ordnance, and munitions of war, with the armies	460,149 7	
By idem of the general park in this capital	1,337,876 3½	
By idem of the cannon foundery	59,312 3	

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By idem of the manufactory of small arms	88,206	½	
By idem of the arsenal	307,535		
By idem of military edifices in the capital and at Ensenada	1,168,981	5½	
By idem on the frontier	26,000		
By idem of the effects, &c. in the storehouses of the commissariat of war	29,652	¼	
By idem in that of the capital	6,258		
Advances.			
Those made from the state treasury			297,078 7¼
Balances on accounts settled.			
On those liquidated by the general treasury	62,908	2	
Same at the custom house	454,396	¼	
Same at the post office	16,039	1	
Same by the collectors of contributions from commerce, from different bodies, incomes, bread and beef	176,206		759,889 7¼
Same by the debt due from the state of Chili, as far as liquidated	50,346		
			19,055,597 5½

Notes.

1st. The public lands of the state, which consist of hundreds of leagues in the vast extent of the provinces, and whose value may be estimated at many millions of dollars, is not included in this statement.

2d. The whole of the property and funds exhibited, relates only to the province of Buenos Ayres, excluding those of Entre Rios, Sta. Fee, and Corrientes; without making mention of the estimates of the rest, which amount to many millions, in the produce of their peculiar branches and property of different kinds, on account of some of them being occupied by the enemy, and not possessing sufficient data to state the particulars with accuracy; nevertheless, according to the table of estimates made by the general of accounts in the year 1810, taking the whole of the provinces of the ancient viceroyalty, which at present compose the union, it appears that at that date the liquidated estimates, without including incomes, lots of ground, capitals at interest, and other funds, but merely the administrable proceeds, amounted to six millions eleven thousand eight hundred and two dollars.

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3d. No mention is made in this table of the annual revenues of the Cabildo of this capital, which in 1817, amounted to $367,268, because, as municipal funds, they have their peculiar destination; leaving however a considerable residue, which in case of necessity by the state, may be appropriated to its use, as also those of the other Cabildos of the union, of which, from the distance and shortness of time, it has not been possible to give an exact account.

4th. The amount of public debt acknowledged by the state, accrued in former years, until the close of last December, paid during the administration of the present director, is $ 1,135,483 5¾.

5th. Although the post office establishment produces, at present, after deducting all expenses, a small balance in favor of the state, this is owing to the franks on ultramarine communications, and the interruption of intercourse with the provinces occupied by the enemy; but in case of their becoming free, the administration of this capital alone, will produce a surplus of $ 30,000, and the interior provinces in proportion.

ESTEVAN A GASCON

Buenos Ayres, 14*th April*, 1818.

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No. 6.

TABLE shewing the vessels of war, of the navy of the state which are at present in commission.

Vessels.	Officers.	Mariners.	Seamen.	Guns.	Muskets.	Pistols.	Cutlasses.	Pikes.
Brig Belen	2 Comdt. & Secd.	20	26	12—2 of 18—8 of 8—2 Swivels.	34	12	10	20
Idem Aranzair	2 Comdt. & Secd.	24	34	10—2 of 18—8 of 8.	20		12	18
Idem 25 May	2 Comdt. & Secd.	18	25	14—2 of 18—8 of 8—& 2 Car. of 8.	45	25	24	6
Galvez	2 Comdt. & Secd.	7	22	8 of 6—8.	8	4		
Chacabuco	2 Comdt. & Secd.	10	23	8 of 8—10 Car. of 10.	14			16
Cutter Invincible	2 Comdt. & Secd.	8	18	8 of 6.	8	8		
Fortune	1 Comdt.	7	17	8 of 8 Car.—6 of 6.	9			
FaluccaSt. Martin	1 Comdt.		20	1 of 8.	7		6	
Total 8	14	94	185	69 different calibre.	115	44	52	60

NOTE.

There are besides the above mentioned brigs, the Eol and the Rosario, which are at present engaged in procuring their crews; also there are two gun boats; a fellecho and a launch employed.

Buenos Ayres, March 13, 1818

MATTIAS DE ALDAO.

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No. 7.

STATEMENT of the private armed vessels which have sailed from this port since the month of June, 1817.

1817.		
June 25	Ship Argenteiva	Captain Hippolito Buchard.
August 18	Brig Atrevido del Sud	Captain John D. Handell.
November 6	Corvette Union	Idem John Brown.
Idem 20	Schooner Pueyrredon	Idem Diego Barnes.
December 6	Brig Independence	Idem Tuan Grinaldes.
1818.		
January 19.	Schooner Tucuman	Idem George Wilson.
Idem 3	Schooner Cyripo	Idem Adam Pond.
February 20	Schooner Buenos Ayres	Idem Juan Dester.
Idem 24	Schooner Alerto	Idem Daniel Claytor.
Idem idem	Ship Vigilancio	Idem George Ross.
March 4	Corvette Picado de Buenos Ayres, trading and cruizing	Captain Ebenezer H. Atis.

Buenos Ayres, March 18, 1818.

IRIGOYER.

I send you, gentlemen, the statements and notes, which exhibit the present situation of the United Provinces of South America, in order that, with the information they may afford, his excellency, the President of the United States of North America, may proceed in his steps in relation to these countries, in the way most conformable to his high intentions, and to the greater prosperity and aggrandizement of the new world.

God preserve you many years &c.

Buenos Ayres, April 22, 1818.

GREGORIO TAGLE.

Messrs. C. A. Rodney & J. Graham.

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E.

Provisional regulation, sanctioned by the Sovereign Congress of the United Provinces of South America, for the government of the state, to be observed until the adoption of the Constitution.

SECTION I.

Of men in society.

CHAPTER 1.

Of the rights which belong to all the inhabitants of the state.

Art. 1. The rights of the inhabitants of the state, are those of reputation, liberty, equality, property, and security.

Art. 2. The first has an acceptation so uniform as to render its explanation superfluous. The second, is the good opinion of his fellows, which every man strives to win by the rectitude of his conduct. The third, is the right of acting according to the dictates of a man's own will, so long as he neither violates the rights of the public, nor those of individuals. The fourth, consists in the law being equal to all, preserving alike the rights of the weak and the powerful. The fifth, is the right of full and unmolested enjoyment of property. The sixth, is the guarantee granted by the state to every one, that his rights shall not be violated unless the conditions be broken, upon compliance with which their enjoyment is, by law, made to depend.

Art. 3. Every inhabitant of the state, be he American or foreigner, citizen or not, shall enjoy these rights.

CHAPTER 2.

Of the religion of the state.

Art. 1. The Apostolical Roman Catholic religion shall be the religion of the state.

Art. 2. Every man ought to respect the public worship, and the holy religion of the state: the violation of this law shall be deemed an infraction of the fundamental laws of the country.

CHAPTER 3.

Of citizenship.

Art. 1. All the municipalities of the provinces shall form immediately a public register, to consist of two books, in one of which it

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shall be an indispensable duty to write the names of all the citizens, with a statement of the age and origin of each: in the other, shall be written the names of those, who have lost the right of citizenship, or are suspended from its enjoyment.

Art. 2. Every citizen shall obtain a certificate, signed by the *alcade ordinario de primer voto*, and attested by the notary of the municipality, of his enrolment in the register aforesaid, without which evidence he shall not vote at the elections hereinafter mentioned.

Art. 3. Every freeman born and resident in the territory of the state, is a citizen, but shall not exercise the rights of citizenship until he shall attain the age of twenty-five, or be emancipated.

Art. 4. Every foreigner, of the same age, who may have established himself in the country, with the intention of fixing there his domicil, and having been resident there for four years, shall have become possessed of four thousand dollars worth of property, or not holding property to such amount, shall exercise some trade, or pursue some occupation useful to the state, shall enjoy the right of suffrage in the assemblies of the citizens, provided he know how to read and write.

Art. 5. After ten years residence he shall be eligible to all public employments, except those of the administration of the government; but to entitle him to the right of suffrage, and to render him eligible, he must first renounce all other citizenship.

Art. 6. No European Spaniard shall enjoy the right of suffrage, or be eligible to office, while the independence of these provinces is unacknowledged by the government of Spain.

Art. 7. With the exception of Spaniards of this class who have declared in favor of liberty, and have rendered distinguished services to the state—these shall enjoy citizenship, proper letters of naturalization being first obtained.

Art. 8. Those born in the country, of African blood, whose ancestors may have been slaves in this continent, shall have the right of suffrage, their fathers being freemen, and shall be eligible to office, provided they be in the fourth degree from said ancestors.

Art. 9. Those Spaniards, and other foreigners, who solicit citizenship, must first prove their good conduct.

Art. 10. They shall both swear to defend, even to the extent of sacrificing property and life, the independence of the United Provinces of South America, against that of the king of Spain, his successors, and the metropolis, and every other foreign power; the supreme director shall have the power to appoint one or more commissioners to administer the oath.

Art. 11. Letters of naturalization shall be granted only to those who have resided four years within the territories of the state, unless eminent merit, distinguished services, or the public weal, demands that such residence be dispensed with; it shall be left for the present

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to the wisdom of the supreme director to determine when it shall be expedient so to dispense with it.

Art. 12. The proofs of adhesion to the sacred cause of national independence, and other requisites expressed, shall be made before the governors or lieutenant governors of the provinces, in whose territories the applicant may reside, with formal hearing before the *sindico procurador*, on being notified by the municipality, and the said governor; and in default of this, the application shall be rejected.—The letters of naturalization shall be published in the Ministerial Gazette.

CHAPTER 4.

Of the privileges of citizenship.

Art. 1. Every citizen is a component part of the national sovereignty.

Art. 2. In virtue of which, he has the right of suffrage, and is eligible to office, in those cases designated by this provisional regulation.

CHAPTER 5.

Of the several modes in which citizenship may be lost, and its enjoyment suspended.

Art. 1. Citizenship shall be lost, by naturalization in a foreign country: by accepting offices, pensions, or titles of nobility, from another nation; by the illegal infliction of corporal or infamous punishments; by fraud in a debtor, until, the reproach being wiped away, a new qualification be obtained.

Art. 2. Citizenship shall be suspended when a debtor to the state is under execution: by accusation of a crime, provided it be well founded, and the punishment prescribed be corporal or infamous; by being a hired domestic servant; by not holding property, or pursuing some occupation lucrative, and useful to the country; by madness or insanity.

Art. 3. Any magistrate who deprives a citizen of his right of citizenship, except for the causes enumerated in article 2, shall be punished by being deprived of his own.

Art. 4. Those judges who shall neglect to convey to the several municipalities information of the names which ought to be erased from the register mentioned in art. 1, chap 3, in consequence of legal conviction of crime, shall be deprived of the right of suffrage, and be ineligible at two succeeding elections.

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CHAPTER 6.

Of the duties of every man in the state.

Art. 1. Every man in the state, owes, in the first place, complete submission to the law, doing the good which it enjoins, and avoiding the evil which it prohibits.

Art. 2. Obedience, honor, and respect, are due to the magistrates, as ministers of the law, and first citizens.

Art. 3. Every man, unless he be a foreigner, shall cheerfully make all the sacrifices required by the country in its necessities and dangers, not even excepting that of life.

Art. 4. It is his duty to contribute to the support and preservation of the rights of the citizen, and to the felicity of the state.

Art. 5. To deserve the delightful and honorable title of *man of worth*, being a good father of a family, a good son, a good brother, and a good friend.

CHAPTER 7.

The duties of society.

Art. 1 Society ought to secure to its members the enjoyment of the rights of man.

Art. 2. It ought to alleviate the misfortunes of the citizens, and to use adequate means for their prosperity and instruction.

Art. 3. Any regulation, or statute, contrary to the principles established in the preceding articles, shall be of no effect.

SECTION II.

Of the legislative power.

CHAPTER 1.

Art. 1. The legislative power is resident originally in the nation, its permanent exercise, the mode, and its limits, shall be established by the constitution of the state: in the interim, this provisional regulation shall be in force, which shall be neither amended, interpreted, or have any addition made it, except by the sovereign congress, two-thirds of its members concurring in the measure, and circumstances demanding its adoption.

Art. 2. Until the constitution makes proper provision, all the statutes and regulations, as well general, as particular, of the ancient Spanish government, which may not be hostile to the liberty of these provinces, nor in contrariety to this provincial regulation, and also such of the regulations, made since the 25th of May, 1810, as are in conformity with it, shall subsist.

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Art. 3. The supreme director of the state, the judges, and public officers, of every denomination, may communicate to congress, and consult with that body, upon the doubts that may occur in the application of the laws and regulations, general, or particular, whenever they consider them in conflict with declared rights, and the actual system of the government; and the resolutions adopted in consequence, shall be communicated to the executive power.

SECTION III.

Of the executive power.

CHAPTER 1.

Of the mode of choosing the director of the state, and of his powers.

Art. 1. The supreme executive power, until by it elsewhere placed, is in the nation, and shall be exercised by a director of the state.

Art. 2. Until a constitution be adopted, the congress shall name, from among all the citizens of the provinces, him, most worthy, and best qualified for so high an office.

Art. 3. In case of the absence of the director, in the defence of the state, or of other legal impediment in the exercise of this office, the congress shall make suitable provision.

Art. 4. Those citizens who are natives of the country, and who have resided in it at least five years immediately preceding the election, can only be elevated to the Supreme Directorship.

Art. 5. The compensation of the director of the state shall be twelve thousand dollars annually, and he shall receive no other emolument.

Art. 6 The person filling this office shall continue in it until a constitution be adopted, or until such time, anterior to it, as congress may deem proper.

Art. 7. His title shall be that of *Excellency*, his guard and honors those of a captain general of the army, respect being had to the ordinance.

Art. 8. Upon his entrance into office, he shall before the congress, or such commissioner, or commissioners, as they may appoint, assisted by all the corporations of the place, take the following oath:

"I———, do swear, by God our Lord, and these Holy Evangelists, that I will discharge faithfully, and conformably to law, the office of Supreme Director of the state, to which I have been appointed: that I will observe provisional regulation adopted by the sovereign congress the 3d of December, 1817: that I will protect the Apostolical Roman Catholic religion, being ever watchful to secure it respect, and observance: that I will defend the territory of the provinces of the union against all hostile aggression, adopting such measures as I

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may deem suitable to preserve its integrity and independence: and I will retire from this office when the sovereign congress shall so order. If I do thus, God prosper me, if not, to him and my country, will I be accountable."

Art. 9. He shall watch over the execution of the laws, and the right administration of justice, urging its functionaries thereto, and to the carrying into effect the regulations of congress, giving for the last object, the necessary orders.

Art. 10. He shall submit to the consideration of the national representatives, projects and reforms, conducive to public happiness.

Art. 11. He shall be commander in chief of all the forces of the state; and shall have under his orders the navy, the army of the line, and the national militia of every description, for the protection of civil liberty, the defence, tranquillity, and good order of all the territory of the union.

Art. 12. He shall be the organ, and shall represent the United Provinces, for the purpose of treating with foreign powers.

Art. 13. When he deems a rupture with any foreign power, inevitable, he shall submit to congress the causes which impel to it.

Art. 14. If upon a view of these, or for other reasons, congress should decree war, the Supreme Director shall proceed to its solemn declaration, being authorized to raise land and sea forces to direct their movements, and to adopt all the measures necessary to the common defence, and the annoyance of the enemy, respect being always had to article 4, chap. 1, sec. 6, of the army and navy.

Art. 15. He shall have the power of commencing, conducting, and signing treaties of peace, alliance, commerce, and other foreign relations, which, however, to be valid, must be approved by the congress, within the time stipulated for their ratification, he transmitting in this stage of the negotiation all the documents relating to it.

Art. 16. In those cases in which secrecy is not essential to the happy result of negotiations, he shall submit to congress, their object, and their state, to procure from this body such assistance as may facilitate them.

Art. 17. He shall receive the ambassadors, envoys, and consuls of other states, and shall nominate those whom it may be proper to send to foreign courts.

Art. 18. He shall appoint to all military offices, and employments, generalships of the army, and naval forces, conforming to the existing ordinances of the army and marine, so far as they may be applicable.

Art. 19. He shall have the power of rewarding meritorious officers by promotion, and by bestowing medals of such form, and design, as he may deem best without any allowance in money however, independent of the pay.

Art. 20. He shall have the general superintendence over all the

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branches of the national property, and revenues, over mints, mines, posts and high ways.

Art. 21. He shall appoint for the present to all offices vacant in the Cathedrels of the United Provinces, and to all other benefices, to which pertain the right of presentation.

Art. 23. He may suspend public officers for just cause; giving afterwards an account to congress.

Art. 24. If the suspension be merely for reasons of policy, the sovereign congress itself shall take it into consideration.

Art 25. If it be for imputed criminality, the sovereign congress shall appoint a commission which shall not be of their body, before which the *Agente de la Camara* shall accuse the person suspended, and the said commission, having heard the parties, shall declare whether or not he deserves to be removed from office.

Art. 26. He shall have the power of removing officers to other offices, and if, in consequence, they should be greatly prejudiced, they may bring the affair before congress.

Art. 27. He shall nominate the three secretaries, of state—of the treasury—and of war, and their several officers, being responsible for the bad selection of the first.

Art. 28. He shall grant passports for travelling from the provinces of the state by sea and land, and licenses for the loading, unloading, and departure of vessels.

Art. 29. He shall be particularly careful to preserve unimpaired the credit of the state, being attentive to the collection of its revenues, and to the faithful payment of its debts, to the extent its exigencies will admit.

Art. 30. He may of his own authority expend freely the said revenues in defence of the state, during the war it is now raging for independence, with previous information in writing, from the secretaries of the treasury and of war.

Art. 31. He shall confirm or revoke in conformity to the opinion of his *asesor*, (who shall be the auditor general of war,) sentences passed on individuals by the military tribunes established in the armies, or in the capital, or by the ordinary councils of war in the other towns of the districts.

Art. 32. He shall have power of suspending the execution of the capital sentences, of pardoning or commuting punishments on the anniversary of the national independence, or on the occurrence of any signal event, which shall augment the glory of the state, hearing first the information communicated by the tribunal before which the convict has been tried.

Art. 34. He shall every year transmit to the national representation, an exact statement of all the receipts into the different treasuries of the state, and of the municipalities of the several provinces in money, or in credits together with the expenditures, debts, and credits, giving timely orders to those who ought to prepare said statement.

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Art. 35. The orders of the Supreme Director shall be obeyed, exactly in the whole extent of the United Provinces.

Art. 36. He shall grant letters of naturalisation for the present, and until a constitution be adopted.

CHAPTER 2.

Limits of the executive power.

Art. 1. The supreme director shall not send expeditions by water, or by land against any of the provinces in congress united, or others of this continent, who are engaged in sustaining their independence, without the consent of congress previously obtained.

Art. 2. He may, nevertheless, do so in those cases in which it is absolutely necessary to act promptly, giving afterwards a particular account of such proceedings to the congress.

Art. 3. He shall, in no case, hold command of a particular regiment.

Art. 4. He shall not exercise any jurisdiction civil, or criminal, in virtue of his office, nor upon petition of the parties, he shall not alter the system prescribed by the law for the administration of justice.

Art. 5. He shall, in no way, interfere with the causes cognizable by the tribunals of justice either when pending, or when sentence has been pronounced, or carried into execution.

Art. 6. When the urgency of the case compels him to arrest any citizen, he shall within the third day after, place him at the disposal of the proper officers of justice to await their judgment, giving, at the same time a full statement of the motives of the arrest, and all other circumstances connected with it.

Art. 7. With the exception of those cases in which a compliance with what is required in the preceding article would endanger the public security, in which case he shall hold the arrested in custody with the consent of his assessor, and the fiscal of chamber of appeals, who shall share with him the responsibility for the time necessary to take the requisite measures for safety, placing him then at the judges disposal.

Art. 8. He shall neither impose new taxes, contributions, nor loans, nor augment those subsisting directly, or indirectly without a previous resolution of the congress.

Art. 9. He shall issue no order, nor make any communication without the previous subscription of the secretary of the department to which the business belongs, in defect of which subscription, the order, or communication shall be void.

Art. 10. He shall not grant to any person in the state monopolies, or exclusive privileges, except to the inventors of arts, or to establishments of public utility, with the approbation of congress.

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Art. 11. The epistolary correspondence of the citizen is a thing sacred, which the director shall neither violate, nor intercept without incurring responsibility.

Art. 12. In cases, nevertheless, of well founded fear of treason, or subversion of the public order, at the discretion of the director, the secretary of state, and *Sindico Procurador de commun*, who in this case, shall each have a vote, being bound to secrecy and under equal responsibility, the former shall have the power of proceeding, with his said associates, to open and examine correspondence. The same power, under the same responsibility, and like obligation to secrecy in the governors, and lieutenant governors of the several provinces with their secretaries, and Sindico Procuradors, in defect of whom, the two first capitularies shall act.

Art. 13. Those who, upon a scrutiny, as aforesaid, of correspondence shall appear to be guilty of the crime of treason, or subversion of public order, shall be proceeded against and secured according to the greater or less imminence of the danger.

Art. 14. Except in the cases mentioned in article 30 of the preceeding chapter, the director shall not dispose of the funds of the state for extraordinary expenses, without the previous consent of the three secretaries, the assessor general and the fiscal of the Camara, and without its being made appear before the Escubano de Kaciendo, that the expenditure proposed, is useful and necessary.

Art. 15. He shall not exercise the prerogative given him in article 33, of the preceeding chapter, in case of treason, and other excepted cases.

Art. 16. He shall not bestow any office, civil or military, upon any person related to him in the third degree of consanguinity, or in the first of affinity, without the knowledge and approbation of congress.

Art. 17. With the exception of those who being already in service, may have been recommended for promotion by their respective chiefs, respect being had to seniority according to their merits.

Art. 18. He shall not confer the grade of brigadier, or of colonel major, without the knowledge and approbation of congress.

Art. 19. Excepting the case in which for some brilliant action in war, or extraordinary military service, it may be proper to reward immediately, a chief whose grade is next to one of those abovementioned.

CHAPTER 3.

Of the secretaries of state.

Art. 1. The three secretaries of state shall discharge all the duties assigned them in the last ordinance, regulating their offices, which shall be in force, except where in contrariety to these articles.

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Art. 2. They shall not in any case, business, or circumstances, deliberate without the previous order and notification of the director.

Art. 3. They shall have the power of communicating of themselves, the orders issued by government, in the affairs of men, or importance, being bound to make an entry thereof in the book of entries, as is provided.

Art. 4. They shall not attest decrees or regulations, contrary to the provisional regulation, not even at the request or command of the director; if compelled so to do, they shall make proper protests, and give immediate information of the affair to congress.

Art. 5. They shall be removable at the will of the director, equally with their subordinate officers.

Art. 6. When the removal is in consequence of inability, want of competent information, or any other defect compatible with integrity, they shall be indemnified with other employments suitable to their circumstances and merit. They shall incur no stigma by such removal.

Art. 7. When any one of these secretaries is removed for malversation, or upon petition of a party aggrieved, congress shall take cognizance of the case.

Art. 8. The Supreme Director may, ex officio, or upon accusation, proceed summarily against the secretaries giving an account of the proceeding to congress.

Art. 9. For the trial of the secretaries, congress shall appoint a commission, either of their own members, or of others, or it shall be appointed by such other body as they may substitute.

Art. 10. Sentence of acquittal pronounced by the commission, shall not necessarily be followed by a restoration to office.

Art. 11. The secretaries may, for good cause, challenge the commissioners, and they may appeal from the sentence to three individuals, to be chosen out of nine, whom the congress a second time nominating, shall appoint.

Art. 12. The salary of these secretaries shall be three thousand dollars annually, to each; the official title *senor*.

SECTION IV.

Of the judicial power.

CHAPTER 1.

Art. 1. The judicial power is in the body of the nation, until by them elsewhere placed; it shall be exercised for the present, and until a constitution be adopted by the court established in article 14, of the following chapter; by the courts of appeal (las camaras de ape-

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laciones,) and by the other judges. For those cases which have no court assigned by the law, congress shall provide.

Art. 2. The judicial power shall be entirely independent of the executive and its principles, its form and extent shall be subject to the laws by which it is established.

CHAPTER 2.

Of the courts of justice.

Art. 1. The courts of appeal (las camaras de apelaciones) shall have the same territorial jurisdiction as heretofore; shall be composed of five individuals, and one fiscal; when united in a body shall have the title of excellency, (excellentia,) individually, that of usted simply; their salary shall be fifteen hundred dollars each, free from payment of first fruits (media annata) and all other charges.

Art. 2. The presidency of the courts in the interior, and at certain public assemblages, shall be held in turn by the five members every four months according to seniority; the president shall take the votes, attend to the despatch of business, preservation of orderr, exercising all the powers of the ancient *regentes*, so far as they conform to this provisional regulation, and shall have the title of senior in official matters.

Art. 3. No one hereafter shall be named, even provisionally, for any of the offices of the courts of appeal, unless he be more than five and twenty years of age, and a lawyer who has practiced at least six years.

Art. 4. When vacancies happen in these courts, no nominations of persons to fill them shall be made by the director; in each vacancy four persons, being selected by the same tribunals, from among the lawyers of the district, after examination, and comparison of talents and services, and proposed to him.

Art. 5. The numerical order, in which the aforesaid four persons are proposed, shall give no preference, two of these shall be from the place where the court sits, the remaining two from other parts of the district.

Art. 6. These offices shall be holden during good behavior, but there may be removal from one count to another; and these officers shall be subject to scrutiny in their conduct every five years, or oftener, if justice should require it.

Art. 7. The court shall have two *Relatores* to be chosen after competition had; the salary of each shall be fifteen hundred dollars, and they shall have no other emolument.

Two assistants, one of the law civil, the other of the law criminal, dividing between them the business relating to the public revenues at the discretion of the fiscal. The salary of each shall be

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twelve hundred dollars, without the ancient perquisite of *vistas* (presents.)

Two bailiffs (porteros) who shall each have a salary of five hundred dollars, and who shall execute alternately for a week the office of alquacil.

Six attornies (procuradores) whose intervention shall extend when parties choose to the subaltern judges of original jurisdiction, but not to the consulado, and the Juggados de Algadas y Disputaciones de Commercio.

And two escribanos (notaries) who shall only receive fees for services actually rendered according to the regulation (arancel,) without those called *tiras*,* which are henceforth forbidden.

Art. 8. They shall take cognizance, not only of all causes and business of which according to prior laws, the now abolished audiences had cognizance, but also of such as the provisional regulation designates.

Art. 9. Appeals from the decrees of the *Tribunal de Algadas de Commercio* because of their nullity, or notorious injustice shall be decided in the aforesaid court of appeal (camaras.)

Art. 10. The trial of appeals (algadas) shall be taken in turn by the members of the court of the district in which the appeal occurs.

Art. 11. Questions that may occur between the ordinary and mercantile jurisdictions, shall be decided by the aforesaid president (camarista presidente) conforming to the character by which the consulado is established.

Art. 12. They shall take cognizance, for the present, of first appeals in cases of smuggling, and other branches of the revenue, leaving their trial, in the first instance, to the intendentes de provincia, but in cases of capture, or detention of vessels by public or private armed ships, the cognizance shall continue in the tribunals in which it is already vested.

Art. 13. When a second appeal is taken, because of nullity, or notorious injustice, the courts after hearing had, shall transmit an account of the proceedings, with the documents, to the director.

Art. 14. Who, with the advice of his assessor general (asesor general) shall nominate immediately a commission of five lawyers, who shall decide the cause, and having done so, shall be dissolved, while exercising this office shall have the title of excellency.

Art. 15. There shall be named by the director of the state, in the capital of every province, upon the recommendation under oath of its court, a lawyer who shall exercise the functions of judge of appeals throughout the said provinces.

Art. 16. His salary shall be eighteen hundred dollars, free from first fruits, and other charges.

*Fees paid when appeals were taken.

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CHAPTER 3.

Of the administration of justice.

Art. 1. Justice shall be administered according to the principles, and method which have been heretofore observed, so far as is compatible with the subsequent provisions.

Art. 2. The judges of appeals in the several provinces shall take cognizance of all appeals in civil cases from the ordinary alcades, and other ministers of justice.

Art. 3. Appeals to the camaras, to the full extent given by law, shall be allowed to those interested in all cases, except those in which the amount of property involved is one thousand dollars, or less, when two similar sentences shall be conclusive.

Art. 4. They shall have cognizance of criminal causes of every kind referring to the court of appeals (los camaras) those which according to law ought to be referred to them.

Art. 5. Parties in the said causes shall have the privilege of resorting directly to the courts of appeal, (las camaras) passing by the provincial judge.

Art. 6. The ordinance of the twentieth of April, eighteen hundred and twelve, shall be abolished.

Art. 7. In criminal cases the accused shall have the privilege of choosing a person to assist him (padrino) who shall be present at his confession, and at the examination of the witnesses without prejudice to the lawyer established by law, and the practice of the courts.

Art. 8. The assistant mentioned in article seven shall take care that the confession and depositions of the witnesses shall be heard by the notary or judge, clearly and distinctly in the terms in which they may be expressed, without modification or alteration, assisting the accused, whenever from fear, want of intellect, or other cause, he is unable, unassisted, to make himself understood.

Art. 9. Criminal causes of all classes which may be pending without this new mode of defence, shall be prosecuted according to the usual course of law.

Art. 10. The taking of oaths shall be restored without innovation in all cases, except that of the accused's confession of his own criminalty.

Art. 11. Sentences to hard labor, to whipping or a banishment, shall not be executed without previous consultation with the courts of appeals (las camaras) under the penalty of tw thousand dollars, and perpetual disqualification, to be inflicted upon the judge violating this important article.

Art. 12. Except in those extreme cases, in which the public safety is so greatly endangered by popular commotion, or other cause as not to admit of executions being deferred; information being always given to the camaras.

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Art. 13. All sentences in criminal causes to be valid must be pronounced according to the express letter of the law; the infraction of this article shall be a crime, in the magistrate, punishable by the payment of costs, and all losses incurred in consequence.

Art. 14. By the last article, it is not intended to repeal the laws authorizing the infliction of punishment, at the discretion of the judge, according to the nature and circumstances of the offence; neither is intended to re-establish any others, which, from their cruelty, have been abolished, or softened by the practice of the superior tribunals.

Art. 15. No individual shall be arrested, without semi-plenary proof of guilt, at least, which shall be stated in the previous process.

Art. 16. At the end of the third day, the accused shall be informed of the cause of his arrest, and if the judge arresting be not authorized to take any further steps in the case, he shall refer it to the officer, to whom its recognizance belongs.

Art. 17. No accused person shall be prevented from taking the sacrament after his confession, nor at any time for more than ten days without just cause, which shall be entered of record, information of the obstacle to his communicating being given to the accused every third day while it continues.

Art. 18. Persons being for safe keeping, and not for the punishment of the accused, whatever, under the pretext of securing, serves only maliciously to harrass, shall be punished by the superior tribunals, and proper indemnity being given to the aggrieved.

Art. 19. To decree arrest, seizure of goods, and examination of papers, against any inhabitant of the state, his name, or the marks which distinguish his person, and the object of the proceeding, must be mentioned in the decree.

Art. 20. When goods are seized an inventory shall be carefully made of them in the presence of the accused, a duly attested copy of it shall be given to him, and they shall be placed for safe keeping in the custody of the notary employed in the case, or in defect of him, of the judge decreeing the seizure, and two witnesses.

Art. 21. When, at the time of seizure it is impracticable to make the aforesaid inventory, the goods shall be secured under two keys, one of which shall be taken by the judge, the other by the accused; when this is not practicable, the chests shall be closed, and sealed in his presence, and the doors of the house, which as soon as circumstances will admit, shall be opened in his presence, and the inventory made.

Art. 22. When the seizure must be made in the absence of the accused, the judge shall name a respectable and substantial citizen, who shall act for him, and be recompensed in proportion to his labor, but if the absence of the accused arises from sickness, he shall appoint such person as he pleases, as his substitute.

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Art. 23. The judge, or deputy arresting any citizen (not being taken in the act) without conforming to article fifteenth of this chapter shall be removed; he who fails to do what is prescribed when goods are seized, shall be responsible to the owner, and make good any loss accruing in consequence.

Art. 24. The *Tribunal de Concordia*, being abolished, the judge having original jurisdiction, before taking cognizance of a cause, shall use all possible means of reconciling the parties.

Art. 25. Notaries shall serve personally notices on the parties, who are to subscribe them. In case of resistance, or incapacity to sign, the service shall be supplied by a witness, with a statement of the defect.

Art. 26. If the notary shall not find the party to be notified, at his house, he shall seek him there twice more, if then he does not find him there, he shall leave a paper signed by him, which shall contain the decree, or other matter he goes to serve, and it being made to appear in the process, that due diligence has been used to execute it, the same effects shall result as if the party had been personally notified.

Art. 27. Every omission of the notaries, in a matter so interesting, shall be punished by the judge before whom the cause is pending according to the enormity, and other circumstances of the case.

CHAPTER 4.

Of the governors of provinces.

Art. 1. The governors, and lieutenant governors shall not, in virtue of office, have any jurisdiction, civil, or criminal, retaining however, all the powers relating to revenue, police, and war.

Art. 2. The code of the intendencies shall be observed by them, and all other, to whom it relates, save only what relates to the junta superior de hacienda, which shall be abolished, and also what may be contrary to this provisional regulation.

Art. 3. Neither the governors, nor lieutenant governors shall use the power which the 15th article of the said code gives for confirming the decrees of the Cabildos.

Art. 4. In those cases, however, of well founded fear, that the public order will be subverted by executing said decress, they may suspend them, being responsible should the director not previously approve the proceedings.

Art. 5. All that is prohibited in chapter 2, section 3, to the Supreme Director of the state, shall be also forbidden to the governors, and lieutenat governors so far as it is applicable to their respective offices.

Art. 6. The office of deputy assessor of the intendencies, as established by the code mentioned in art. 2, shall be suppressed. Those

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who have obtained this office, shall be attended to by the courts (Camaras) in their recommendations for other employments.

Art. 7. The governors, while in office, shall appoint as secretaries, such persons as they please, who must, however, be lawyers, and who shall assist them in the departments of government, enumerated in article 1, of this chapter, they shall, when they have thus nominated, inform the director, that he may grant proper commissions.

Art. 8. The salary of such secretary, shall be, for the present, twelve hundred dollars a year, including the six hundred provided by the code mentioned in article 2, for the expenses of the secretaryship, free from first fruits and other charges.

Art. 9. No public officer of the government, mentioned in the chapters of this section, shall receive any emoluments, except in case of services rendered in defect of the notary, other than those assigned by law to his office.

SECTION V.

The mode of choosing public officers.

CHAPTER 1.

Of the manner in which the governor, lieutenant governor, and subdelegados shall be chosen.

Art. 1. Governors, lieutenant governors, and subdelegados, shall be appointed by the director of the state, from the lists of persons eligible, either within or without the particular province, which the several Cabildos, the first month after election, shall form and transmit to him.

Art. 2. These lists, which shall be printed, shall not contain more than eight, nor less than four persons for each province.

Art. 3. Of those comprehended in one list, no more than two shall be chosen, unless a third should be included in the lists of another province.

Art. 4. The appointments of subdelegates of districts, having a numerous population, without Cabildos, shall be made provisionally, until municipalities are established in them.

Art. 5. The aforesaid officers shall hold their offices for the term of three years, at the expiration of which, they shall be subject to scrutiny into their conduct, (residencies.)

Art. 6. The salary of governors of provinces, in territory actually free, shall be three thousand dollars, and that of lieutenant governors, two thousand.

Art. 7. If any individual, by artifice, intrigue, bribery, or other unlawful means, procures the insertion of his name on the aforesaid list, it shall be erased therefrom by the director of the state, and he

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shall be declared incapable of holding any office, there being sufficient evidence of his guilt.

Art. 8. If the Capitulares are, in any way delinquent in forming the said lists, they shall incur the punishment in the last article mentioned.

CHAPTER 2.

Election of Cabildos.

Art. 1. Election to deliberative offices, (empleos consiples) shall be by the people, in the cities and towns where Cabildos are established. But the notifications to electors shall not extend to those, who reside beyond their precincts.

Art. 2. The citizens, nevertheless, of the vicinity and county in the exercise of the rights of suffrage, may vote if they so think proper, at said election.

Art. 3. The city or town, shall be divided into four sections, in each one of which, the citizens comprehended in it shall vote for as many electors as correspond to the number of inhabitants in said district, in the proportion of one elector to every five thousand souls.

Art. 4. In the cities and towns, whose population may not be sufficient for the appointment of five electors, five shall, however necessarily be chosen, each votable voting in his own section for such persons as he deems proper.

Art. 5. At this election shall preside, a Capitular, associated with two Alcaldes de Vaino, and a notary, or in defect of him, two inhabitants of the vicinity, in the quality of witnesses; and it shall be holden on the fifteenth day of November.

Art. 6. The votary being concluded in the several sections, all the votes shall be collected in the Sala Capitular; and being publicly counted by those who have presided as aforesaid, associated with the Aldalde de Primer voto, those shall be elected who have a majority in their favor.

Art. 7. The electors shall meet on the 15th of December, in the same Sala Capitular, to make the election for the ensuing year, and it being made, they shall notify the elected, in order that they may be ready to enter upon their offices, as soon as the term of service of the Cabildo they are to succeed, expires, information being given to the governor and to the director of the state.

Art. 8. The Cabildos, the second day after entering into office, shall elect the *Alcaldes de Barrio Humandad* and *Pedaneros*, who may be necessary to maintain order and administer justice, according to the powers vested in them, in all the curacies and departments of the country, comprehended in their respective territories.

Art. 9. They shall form a book for the said elections, which shall be made to fall upon persons of the best repute for talents and integrity, residents in the vicinity, and who know how to read and

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write; and they shall transmit a list of the persons elected, to the governor or lieutenant governor of the province, for his information.

Art. 10. They shall appoint an assesor, Letrado, who must be of the corporation, and one of the Alcaldo Ordinarios.

Art. 11. The Cabildo, shall establish the salary of the asesor, it being charged upon the funds of the municipalty; if it has not been previously established, when such funds are inadequate, information shall be given to the Supreme Director, in order that he may make proper provision.

Art. 12. The governors and lieutenant governors and Cabildos already established, under the highest responsibility, shall be required to inform the congress of the places in which, from their possessing the requisite population, it may be proper to erect new corporations, with the titles of cities or towns.

CHAPTER 3.

Mode of appointing ministerial officers.

Art. 1. Those public officers, who are required to be lawyers, with the exception of the asesores de Cabildo, and secretarios, asesores de intendencias, shall be nominated by the director, upon the recommendation under oath, of the courts of appeal for the respective districts. The order in which persons may be named in the aforesaid recommendation, shall give no preference.

Art. 2. Recommendations for appointments to military offices of every grade and description, shall be strictly made according to the order and scale, which the ordinansa general del exercito prescribes.

Art. 3. Appointments to offices relating to revenue, police, dock yards, manufactories, the office of captain of the port, and the like, shall be made by the director upon the recommendation of their respective chiefs according to seniority, when there is an equality as to ability and services.

Art. 4. The list of persons recommended shall be published by the chief recommending in the office or department where the vacancy happens, at least eight days before he transmits it to the director, that opportunity may be afforded to those aggrieved by it, to obtain suitable redress.

Art. 5. When his interposition is proper, the director shall interpose and proceeding summarily, declare the recommendation just, if he so finds it, and go on to nominate, or return it to the chief making it, to be amended.

Art. 6. In commissions, the qualifications and condition of the person commissioned, shall always be expressed, without which he shall not be enrolled in the tribunal of accounts and the offices which belong to it, nor receive the salary to which he would be otherwise entitled.

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Art. 7. Appointments to the offices of chiefs of every description, shall be made by the director, respect being had to the right of choice in those in the vicinity where the vacancy happens, if such right exist, and timely information being given, as far as the public interest will admit; the director shall be responsible for the bad selection of the said chiefs.

Art. 8. All other offices in the state, the appointment to which, is not by law otherwise vested, shall be open to the director to be filled by him with such citizens as he may deem most suitable.

Art. 9. All ministerial offices shall be holden during good behavior.

CHAPTER 4.

Of the mode of electing the deputies from the provinces to the general congress.

Art. 1. Prior to the meetings of the primary assemblies (asambleas primarias) to be holden for the election of the deputies of the provinces, there shall be taken an accurate census of all the inhabitants of each district, unless it has been already done, at least eight years from the present time, with a statement of that portion of the population inhabiting cities, towns, and villages.

Art 2. The primary assemblies in the cities and towns which have municipalities, shall be held in four sections, in each of which shall preside one member of the municipality, and two jueces de barrio, of the greatest probity, assisted by a notary, if there be a competent number of these officers; if otherwise, in the presence of two witnesses.

Art. 3. In every section, the votables shall vote for so great a number of electors as shall correspond to the total of population, in such manner as that there shall be one elector for every five thousand souls; but if the city or town does not admit of division into four sections, all the citizens shall vote in one place.

Art. 4. In the country, the same proportion shall be observed at elections, but the method as to the sections shall be different.

Art. 5. In every primary assembly, there shall be sections, and each citizen shall vote therein for an elector.

Art. 6. The principal judge of the curacy, and the curate with three neighbors of probity to be appointed by the municipality of the district, shall meet at the house of the first, and shall receive the votes as they are given in, depositing them immediately in a small chest under three keys, which shall be distributed between the judge, the curate, and one of the aforesaid neighbors.

Art. 7. The vote may be given either verbally or in writing, open or closed, as may be most agreeable to the voter; in it he shall name such person for the office of elector, as he shall think proper.

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Art. 8. The voter, after he has given in his vote, and if verbally, after its insertion in a schedule, shall retire; the judge shall attend particularly to this to prevent confusion and altercation.

Art. 9. If any one be charged at such election or afterwards, with either offering or taking a bribe, he shall immediately make verbal defence before the five judges of the section, the accuser and accused being confronted, and the charge being substantiated, he shall forever after be incapable of voting, and be ineligible to any office; false accusers shall suffer the same punishment as those they accused would have done, had the charge been substantiated.

Art. 10. The voting shall positively be concluded at the end of two days; the votes of each section shall remain shut up, and the following day the alcade, with two of the three associated neighbors, aforesaid, shall take the chest containing them to the seccion de numero, the curate then delivering that key which was entrusted to him.

Art. 11. The district of United Curacies, which shall include in its territory five thousand souls, shall be the seccion de numero.

Art. 12. If there should be no town in the district of the seccion de numero, the municipality of some neighboring territory shall designate the curacy, which shall be the head of the section, preferring always the most populous and deciding questions, which may arise in it.

Art. 13. To the head of the section de numero, shall be brought the chests of the *secciones de proporcion*, and they shall be received by the judge, the curate, and the three associated neighbors aforesaid, who opening them shall count the votes, declaring and certifying the majority: *all this shall be done publicly.*

Art. 14. Those chosen electors, shall be informed of their election, and shall immediately repair to the place where the electoral assembly is to be held.

CHAPTER 5.

Of the electoral assemblies.

Art. 1. The electoral assembly shall meet in the town house of the city or town, which has a municipality, where they shall assemble on the day appointed according to distance and other circumstances, without delay.

Art. 2. The governor, lieutenant governor, or subdelegado, who may be at the head of the municipality, shall preside at the first act of the electors, which shall be to nominate a president from among themselves to preserve order: he having the majority of votes shall be president, and upon his election, the president pro tem. shall give place to him and retire immediately.

Art. 3. The proceedings of the electoral assembly shall be put in writing by the notary (see Esecebano) of the municipality, and this

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assembly shall only have the power of doing previously to the business for which they are chosen, such things as are necessary to establish the regularity and validity of its election, without occupying for such purpose, more time than is necessary of four and twenty hours.

Art. 4. It shall proceed immediately to the election of deputies for the congress, and the election shall result for the present, from a simple plurality of votes.

Art. 5. If the case should be such, that by the scattering of the votes, and adherence to them after the third voting, no simple majority results, then, those between whom there is an equality of votes, shall draw lots and this shall decide.

Art. 6. No elector shall vote for himself; within three days the election shall positively be concluded, and the result published, the president shall immediately inform each person selected of his election, transmitting a proper certificate authenticated by the notary of the fact.

Art. 7. As the number of deputies to form the general congress must depend upon the census spoken of in article 1, chap. 4, there shall be such regulation, that for every fifteen thousand souls, there shall be one representative named.

Art. 8. Should there be any fractions, the following rules shall be observed: 1. If in the seecion de numero, there should be any fraction not exceeding two thousand five hundred souls, only one elector shall be voted for, but if it exceed that number, two. 2. If in the district of fifteen thousand souls, which each deputy shall represent, there should be any fraction exceeding seven thousand, and five hundred souls, there shall be named for them in the electoral assembly *one* deputy; but if the fraction should be less, they shall not have such additional representative; but be considered as represented by the deputies of the provinces.

Art. 9. Each province may lessen the number of its representatives, conferring the necessary powers, and giving the proper instructions to those they may deem sufficient, if the want of sufficient funds, distance, or other just cause, prevent their naming the number adequate to their population, with the express condition that in such powers, the cause of the diminution be stated.

Art. 10. No one while in the office of representative, shall hold any other public office, employment, or commission; if he accept any other, he shall lose the first; but if his constituents, after his so losing it re-elect him; he may in this case hold the two offices, exercising the last by deputy.

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SECTION VI.

Of the army and navy.

CHAPTER 1.

Of the marine and regular troops.

Art. 1. In all that relates to the naval forces, the last ordinance of marine (ordinanza de marina) shall be observed, so far as it is conformable to the actual circumstances of the state.

Art. 2. The director shall have the whole military authority, and be commander in chief of the navy, the army, and the militia: he shall appoint a commandant of each, the Estado, mayor general, serving at present in lieu of them.

Art. 3. The provision in article 3, of the limits of the executive power, shall extend equally to the chief of the Estado, mayor general, and the generals of the army.

Art. 4. New regiments shall not be created, while those already created are not filled up.

Art. 5. The supernumerary officers of all descriptions, who at different epochas of the government, may have been dismissed from active service, either with reason or without, (which shall be ascertained,) upon declaration of their readiness to serve, shall be classed for appointments to vacancies in the regiments, without prejudicing those actually serving in them, or to other vacancies suitable to the circumstances of the individual.

Art. 6. If the supernumeraries in the preceding articles mentioned, should have received whole pay, or half, or one third, the directors of the state, shall require from the officers of the treasury, a catalogue of them, and the orders that may have been received for their payment; correcting them according to what results from the provision in said preceding article.

Art. 7. Until there be a complete regulation on this head, there shall be no appointment to offices of profit except those of escala natural in the regiment, upon the recommendation of their respective chiefs, according to the ordinance and through the medium of the estado major general, to whom the scale of classification, mentioned in article 5, shall be sent, that it may appear who are in service and who are not.

Art. 8. Until the establishment of the uniform systems mentioned in art. 17 of this chapter, the tribunal militar, established under the regulation under which it was governed, shall continue in lieu of the ancient *commission;* it being the duty of the defender of the accused to be present at confession.

Art. 9. That article of a prior regulation, which imposes upon deserters the punishment of death for the first offence, and which de-

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clares that the plea of pay being withheld shall not avail, being abolished, in future, the *ordinanzo miletar* shall govern, and the punishment it provides for cases of desertion be alone imposed.

Throughout the state shall be observed the ordinance of 30th January, 1814, as to the supplying vacancies caused by desertion. (*Note—The following art. was in the original, erroneously marked the 10th.*)

Art. 11. Governors, lieutenant governors, and sudelegados, shall be ever watchful for the apprehension of deserters, if they fail in this particular, it shall be one of the first duties when residencia* takes place, to inflict upon them exemplary punishment.

Art. 12. If neglect in this particular be proved against them before their offices expire, it shall be the indispensable duty of the director to remove them,

Art. 13. The alcaldez de hermandad and pedancas de las curatos, for like neglect, shall incur for the first offence a fine of one hundred dollars, to be applied to defraying the expenses of recruiting; and upon the repetition thereof, be removed.

Art. 14. The soldier who shall inform against a deserter, shall, upon his apprehension, be rewarded with ten dollars, and the abatement of two years of his term of service.

Art. 15. The subaltern officers shall read frequently to the soldiers of their respective companies, the ordinances of the penal laws from art. 26 to art. 43, inclusive, of Tit. 10, Trat. 8.

Art. 16. This ordinance being in a great measure altered, shall be without delay reduced to order by another which shall be formed by a military commission of three individuals, to be named by the director, associated with the asesor general of war, and being framed, shall be transmitted to congress for its sanction.

Art. 17. The director shall also name another commission of five individuals, military men of the most extensive information, who shall form a uniform military system, embracing the regular forces of the state and national militia.

Art. 18. He shall also appoint another commission composed of as many individuals as he thinks proper, to form a uniform system for the regulation of the marine, in all branches embracing arrangements as to ports, the establishment of nautical and mathematical schools, and transmitting it when formed to congress.

Art. 19. He shall establish in the capital a permanent academy, appointing its president for the instruction of cadets of the regiments of infantry and cavalry, upon a plan to be furnished by the estado mayor general, and approved by the director.

* Residencia—According to the Spanish law, officers at the expiration of term of service, are bound to reside for a certain period in the places where they exercised their offices; to give an opportunity to proceed against their malversations.

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CHAPTER 2.

Of the national militia.

Art. 1. Every individual of the state being in America, every foreigner enjoying the right of suffrage, every European Spaniard, with letters of naturalization, and all free persons of African or mixed blood, inhabitants of the cities, towns, villages, and country, from the age of fifteen to sixty, unless incapacitated by infirmity, are soldiers of the state, bound to support the independence which has been declared.

Art. 2. From the aggregate of all these inhabitants shall be formed with all possible speed, in all the respective provinces by the respective governors, lieutenant governors, and subdelegadoes, a body of national militia of infantry or cavalry, according to the quota of the province, and upon that footing as to force, which the director shall determine by regiments, battalions, squadrons, or independent companies, subject to the regulation of the 14th, January, 1801, made for the provincial militia, the estado mayor general giving information of variations and additions when deemed necessary.

Art. 3. The governor, lieutenant governor, and subdelegado of each province shall be commander in chief of its militia, while in office, and shall make all recommendations for promotion to the director, through the medium of the estado mayor general, in the department of Buenos Ayres: the governor shall in like manner command the militia, if he be a military man, if not, the commandant general de les armes shall command.

Art. 4. In the national militia shall be included all persons who have obtained commissions in it, since the date of the last cited regulations, being Americans or European Spaniards, with letters of naturalization.

Art. 5. It shall be one of the first duties of the governors, lieutenant governors, or subdelegados to preserve the national militia in a state of good discipline.

Art. 6. The principal object of this militia shall be to defend the state and to aid and reinforce the army of the line, when it shall be necessary.

Art. 7. When it may be necessary to detach a portion of the militia to reinforce the army of the line, the above mentioned chiefs shall do so with persons having no just ground to claim exemptions from the service, supplying immediately the place of the force detached in order to preserve entire the national force of the province.

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CHAPTER 3.

Of that portion of the militia termed civicos.

Art. 1. Of the inhabitants of the several cities, towns, and villages shall be formed the corps of civicos by regiments, battalions, or independent companies.

Art. 2. This militia shall be solely of such as have property worth one thousand dollars at least, of the owners of open shops, and of all who exercise a trade, or pursue some public occupation.

Art. 3. In the department of Buenos Ayres, the civicos shall be subject to the Cabildo in subordination to the supreme director.

Art. 4. Of the residue of the inhabitants the Cabildos shall have the command of as many as they can organize without prejudice to what belongs to the governors, lieutenant governors, and subdelegados in virtue of their offices.

Art. 5. The appointment of officers, to captains inclusive, shall be made by the director upon the recommendations of the chiefs of regiments, which the Cabildos shall transmit through the medium of the estado, mayor general. The Cabildos shall by themselves recommend for officers of higher grades.

Art. 6. Those persons only of the regular army incorporated as chiefs, as sergeants or corporals for the purpose of instruction, shall be out of the ordinary civil jurisdiction in order better to prevent unjust imprisonment.

Art. 7. The principal duties of the civicos shall be to maintain good order in the towns, to assist in the administration of justice and defend the country.

Art. 8. No soldier of the army, of the line, or militia, national, or civic, to whom arms have been entrusted, shall use them factiously against any inhabitant of the state.

Art. 9. The persons thus misusing them, shall be tried and punished within the third day, by the judge to whom the cognizance of the offence belongs, for the satisfaction of public justice, deeply interested in personal security.

SECTION VII.

Personal security and the liberty of the press.

Art. 1. For those actions offending neither against public order nor interfering with private rights, men are solely accountable to God.

Art. 2. No inhabitant of the state shall be obliged to do that which the law does not clearly and explicitly command, nor restrained from that which it does not in like manner prohibit.

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Art. 3. Crime is solely the infraction of laws in full force, since, without this requisite, they are not obligatory.

Art. 4. No inhabitant of the state shall be punished without previous legal sentence, and regular process.

Art. 5. All orders that shall be issued by magistrates in the regular exercise of authority, to promote public order, or to regulate the business pertaining to their office, shall be in writing.

Art. 6. Excepting orders relating to the army in matters belonging to the service, as to which the ordinance of the provinces of the Union shall be observed.

Art. 7. Every citizen may keep in his house powder, and arms, for the defence of his person and property, in those urgent cases in which he cannot avail himself of the protection of the magistrate.

Art. 8. The government shall not take possession of such arms unless the public defence should require them, paying their just value.

Art. 9. The house of a citizen is a sanctuary, which it shall be a crime to violate; it shall not be forcibly entered except in case of resistance to legal process.

Art. 10. The right of forcible entry, given by art. 9, shall be exercised with moderation, personally by the judge issuing the process, and in case of his being utterly unable to act in person, the order delegating the power, shall be in writing, with all necessary specifications, a copy being given to the individual when apprehended, and to the owner of the house, should he so require.

Art. 11. No citizen shall resist the arrest of his person or the seizure of his goods when decreed by a competent magistrate, but he shall have the right of claiming the full benefit of the provisions in favor of personal security, contained in chap. 3, sect. 4, of this provisional regulation.

Art. 12. Every man shall have the liberty of remaining in the territory of the state, or departing therefrom as he thinks proper, so long as the public security is not thereby endangered or its interests prejudiced.

Art. 13. The preceding provisions in favor of personal liberty shall never be suspended.

Art. 14. Except in those extreme cases in which the public security may require such suspensions; the public authorities driven by so lamentable a necessity to this measure, shall give an account of it to congress, who shall examine into its cause, and the time of its duration.

CHAPTER. 2.

Liberty of the press.

Art. 1. The decree concerning the liberty of the press, which was issued Oct. 26th, 1811, and which is incorporated in this chapter shall be observed.

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Art. 2. To facilitate the use of this liberty it is declared that any individual, be he native or foreigner, may freely erect printing presses in any city or town of the state, with this sole condition, that he shall give previous information to the provincial governor, lieutenant governor, and Cabildo, and that every thing printed shall bear the name of the printer, and of the place where the press is erected.

Art. 3. The intendentes policia, shall be particularly careful that in periodical works, and public papers, the greatest possible decorum shall be preserved, without failure of the respect due to magistrates, to the public, and to individuals.

Art. 4. In cases of violations of article 3d. it shall be the duty of the said intendentes to give notice to the tribunal of the liberty of the press, which conformably to the laws establishing and regulating it, shall scrupulously examine the matter.

Decree of the liberty of the press, of October 20th, 1811.

Art. 1. Every man may publish his opinions freely, and without previous license, (previa censura) all laws and regulations contrary to this liberty shall be of no effect.

Art. 2. The abuse of this liberty is a crime, when it invades private rights, its prosecution belongs to the persons interested, and to all the citizens when it endangers the Roman catholic religion, the public tranquillity, or the constitution of the state. The magistrates having cognizance shall impose the punishment according to law.

Art. 3. To guard against abuses in the classification and graduation of crimes of this kind, there shall be created a body of nine individuals with the title of protectors of the liberty of the press. In order to its formation the Cabildo shall present a list of fifty respectable persons not employed in the administration of the government, from these selections shall be made according to plurality of votes. The electors shall be the prelado eclesiastico, alcalde de primer vote, sendico procurador, fiscal de la camera, and two respectable persons of the vicinity, nominated by the Cabildo. The escabano de pueblo shall certify the election, and respective commissions which shall be delivered to the elected without loss of time.

Art. 4. The power of these protectors shall be limited to determining whether or not there be criminal matter in such publications as may be submitted to them. The punishment of the crime, after the evidence is declared, shall belong to the magistrates. The protectors shall hold their offices for one year, at the expiration of which there shall be a new election.

Art. 5. The third of the votes in favor of the accused, shall be a sentence of acquittal.

Art. 6. Any party interested appealing, the protectors shall chuse by lot, nine individuals of the forty-one remaining on the list,

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out of which they themselves were selected, these shall review the matter, and their sentence, if in favor of the accused, shall be irrevocable. In cases of challenge for just cause, the places of the challenged shall be supplied in the same manner.

Art. 7. The same method shall be followed in the provincial capitals, substituting for the Prior de Corsulado, the Deputado de comercia, and for the Fiscal de la Camera, the Promotor Fiscal.

Art. 8. Works which treat of religion shall not be published without scrutiny by the diocesan. In case of accusation, the work shall be re-examined, by the same ecclesiastic, assisted by four of the protectors, and the majority of votes shall constitute an irrevocable sentence.

Art. 9. Authors are responsible for their works, or the printers, not making it appear to whom they belong.

Art. 10. This decree shall be observed, till congress otherwise determine.

FINAL CHAPTER.

General provisions.

1. The reglamento de policia (regulation of police) issued the 22d day of December, 1812, for the capital and province of Buenos Ayres, shall subsist for the present under the following limitations: The powers of the intendente de policia, shall remain vested as they are in the governor of the province; the three commissaries, with the powers and duties designated in the said regulation, shall continue for the present under the inspection of the governor, and among them seniority as to the possession of office shall alone give preference; except their salaries they shall receive no emolument for services performed in quality of commissaries. The governor shall undertake no work requiring expenditure of public money without previous consent of the Cabildo and the approbation of the director. Every payment shall be made according to the mode prescribed in the said regulation. No payment shall be made at the treasury without the approbation of the supreme director, and the treasurer shall replace money paid by him contrary to this article. The 3d, 4th and 5th articles, which establish an assessor, portero, and escribano de ramo, shall be repealed, the last office being exercised by a like officer of the general government. The 8th, 10th, and 14th, shall only have effect so far as they are compatible with personal security, liberty of the press, and other rights of man, which have been declared. The 41st, of the circular instruction to the alcaldes de bario, shall be observed so far as it is compatible with the chapter upon the liberty of the press. All the change that may have been made contrary to the said reglaments de policia, and to what the estatuto provisional, (provisional statute) of May 5th, 1815, in article 1, final chapter

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of general provision provides, shall be amended, the office of four commsisaries last established being suppressed.

2. The Cabildos of the other cities and towns of the state, shall appoint a commission of four persons of the vicinity, of the best information and the greatest zeal for the public good, who, keeping in mind the said reglaments of the capital, shall form one suitable to the circumstances of the place, transmitting it to congress for their approbation.

3. Securities for the due discharge of duty shall be required from all officers, according to the nature of each office; the laws formerly requiring them being hereby restored. Those exercising offices, for the due performance of which security ought to be given, are peremptorily required to give it within six months from the date of this provisional regulation, the director and governors attending to this, with the privilege of taking four securities, each security binding himself for one-fourth of the whole amount.

4. To the officers of the treasury (ministras de hacienda, and the officers of the custom house, administradores de aduania) shall be restored the covecive jurisdiction for the recovery and collection of debts, certain and liquidated, in favor of the state.

5. The laws and decrees made by the last convention (asamblea) as to religious profession, shall be of no effect.

6. Contributions imposed in one province for its special benefit, shall not extend to the other.

7. All the provinces in the union, cities and towns, having Cabildos, may, without the necessity of obtaining permission, giving, however, previous information to the director, make all the establishments they may deem useful and promotive of their industry, prosperity, arts, and sciences, without prejudice to the friends of the state.

8. All those in possession of letters of naturalization, which have not been issued by the former general constituent assemby, by the present congress, or the Supreme Director for the time being, in virtue of the decree of 29th August, shall present them to the present one for ratification, should they deserve it, without which they shall be of no effect.

9. All the officers of the government, including the Supreme Director of the state and his secretaries, shall, upon termination of office, be liable to inquiry into their conduct, the director and his secretaries, before congress, the others before judges to be appointed by the congress, the last shall be liable to such secretary for four months after termination of office.

10. The present provincial regulation shall be observed throughout all the territory of the state, from the time of publication, which the director shall cause to be made in a convenient form. Those articles of the provisional statute (estatuto proviscina) passed

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by the junta de observacion, not comprehended herein, being repealed, and all anterior laws, regulations, and decrees in opposition to it, being in like manner repealed.

Sanctioned by the general congress, sealed with the provisional seal, signed by the president, and countersigned by his secretary, in Buenos Ayres, the third day of December, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and seventeen.

PEDRO LEON GALLO, President.

Doct. Jose Eujenio Eleas, Secretary.

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H.

(Copy.)

The director (ad interim) of the state, in Buenos Ayres, to the citizens of all the provinces.

I could wish by means of a detailed manifesto, to explain to the people every step which has been taken for the purpose of establishing concord with the chief of the Orientals, and the difficulties which have constantly opposed thhmselves to so desirable an object; by this means, also, holding out a warning to all minds of the evils which must flow from these unfortunate differences. But for the present this is not possible, nor so necessary as the immediate communication to all of the results of our last negotiations.

No mystery has been attempted in this business, even the minutest particulars have been made known to all such as were desirous of being informed; but at a distance, every thing is liable to misrepresentation; it is therefore my duty to provide against it. For this purpose, I confine myself for the present, to the publication of the documents necessary for the information that may be desired, these will save me the trouble of a statement that may possibly deserve the imputation of being made with passion; while the citizens of all the provinces will thus be left at liberty to form their opinions according to the dictates of their reason, without being led astray by partiality.

It is notorious that I sent deputies to the chief of the Orientals, in order that we might fix upon some plan of establishing such an understanding and harmony, as would be sufficient to avoid reciprocal aggressions, until the general congress should be assembled, and arrange our differences on permanent principles.

The propositions reciprocally made, did not satisfy either; the decision was reserved for a future congress.

Such was the state of things, when there appeared in this city four deputies, sent from an assembly of the Orientals, and united with these, Cordova, Santa Fee, and Corientes, with official instructions from general Artigas, which authorized them to enter into stipulations. The documents subjoined, have originated from this procedure.

Finally, after refusing to sign the statement No. 2, of the document No. 3, they returned, giving assurances by word, that they went in peace; and they were answered, "peace be with you." People of the provinces, it is for you to judge; the case is yours, and your safety is the supreme law of the state.

(Signed) IGNACIO ALVAREZ.

Buenos Ayres, 8th August, 1815.

GREGORIO TAGLE.

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Plan for the establishment of harmony, presented by the deputation of the chief of the Orientals, to the government of Buenos Ayres.

There shall be an union, offensive and defensive, between the provinces under the direction of the chief of the Orientals, and the government of Buenos Ayres.

The troops of Buenos Ayres which passed over to the eastern shore of the Uruguay, shall be considered as purely auxiliary, until the occupation of Monte Video; there shall be restored of what was carried away from that place, three thousand stand of arms, one thousand swords, twelve pieces of light artillery, of two's, four's, and sixe's. There shall be mounted on the fortifications, the number of pieces of artillery that may be requisite, the principal portion to be brass, with the necessary material for all and each of said cannon; nine gun boats, with all requisite supples: powder, fixed ammunition for cannon of every caliber, also for small arms, and fifty-five thousand flints; one half of the mortars taken away; the bombs, grenades, with every thing for using them, together with the printing press.

To Santa Fee, there shall be delivered five hundred stand of arms.

To Cordova, a like number.

The remainder of the articles withdrawn from the Oriental province of the Uruguay, shall remain in Buenos Ayres as a deposit, for the purpose of aiding the other provinces, to be used at the instance of the chief of the Orientals, and for the aid of the province of Buenos Ayres itself, according to its future exigencies.

The deputation has the honor to state to his excellency, the director of Buenos Ayres, that they will cheerfully enter into any discussions, to which their propositions may give rise, with the magistracy of this capital, according to the 25th article of the 1st chapter, section 3, of the provisional statute.

(Signed) MIGUAL BARRIERO,
JOSE ANTONIO CABRERA,
JOSE GARCIA DE CASSIO.

Buenos Ayres, 3d July, 1815.

Official letter of his excellency the director of the state, to the chief of the Oriental.

The deputation sent by your excellency to this government, presented your esteemed communication of the 29th ultimo, which at the

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same time that it served as the credentials of the mission, manifested the desire of conciliation which animates your excellency. I was indeed induced to expect from this, that the mission had been directed to propose more reasonable grounds of accommodation, than those offered by yourself to my deputies, Coronel Pico, and D. Riverola. Judging by my own heart, I considered the negotiation already ended. I requested the deputies to give me their proposals in writing, and the following day they reproduced in substance the same as before offered, with the addition of several supernumerary articles. I immediately took steps to assemble the authorities according to the provision in such cases of the 25th art. chap. 1st, sec. 3d, of the provisional statute, by whom the subject has been maturely considered, and the plan, proposed anew on your part, duly weighed; they have resolved to give for answer, that the claims of your excellency ought to be left to the supreme judgment of the general congress of all the provinces: that if in reality, the sovereignty of this august body is to be recognized, it is proper to wait for its determination, which will irrevocably terminate our differences. We concurred in our private opinions how injurious to the common cause these discords must be, particularly in this important portion of the country; the sending to your excellency the before mentioned deputies was an act dictated by the necessity of coming to an amicable understanding, so that the expedition expected from the peninsula, should find us acting in concert, as I have expressly stated in my communication of the eleventh of May. In such circumstances it was plainly for the common interest that we should at least agree not to make war upon each other, even if we should be unable to agree upon any thing else; it never could be just to expose the fate of all the provinces by disputes between the Orientals and Buenos Ayres, for advantages reciprocally claimed over each other. But since the danger which threatened us is dissipated, let us await the decision of the supreme congress on our cause; if we are liberal in our principles, and are not disposed to wrong the other provinces, let us give them a share in the adjudication of rights, when it so properly belongs to them.

Buenos Ayres, by the sacrifices she has made, has been reduced to her present state of honorable poverty; her efforts were made as a member of the union, and as the capital of all; as a member, she has brought all her wealth into the common fund; as the capital, she has received contributions from the other members, without discrimination. But for none has there been so much expended as for Monte Video. Your excellency, in her name, demands those articles which have been taken away, and generously bestows a thousand stand of arms upon Cordova, and Santa Fee, the remainder to remain in deposit, in this place, to be used at your instance (see intervention) to aid the other provinces. The difficulty consists in this, that if all the other provinces should follow the examples of the Orientals, and demand what they have contributed, Buenos Ayres will also come in for

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a share, and it will be her duty to make an equal distribution of the property which has been saved in the general bankrupcy, to each creditor, according to the amount of his credit. But Buenos Ayres cannot be both party and judge; it is therefore evident that the next congress is the only tribunal for the decision of this important cause. Until then, (aspiring still to the praise of acting with the same moderation, you have shewn in the midst of the severe trials experienced in the cause of liberty, as you have observed in your communication,) your conduct will be such as to preclude the occurrence of unhappy contentions; while, on my part, I shall do nothing but to endeavor to prevent it. To this end, I have ordered a force to Santa Fee, with instructions to publish the proclamations herewith enclosed. The deputies of your excellency have experienced some detention, because having informed them of the measure before mentioned, I was apprehensive that they would hasten to your excellency in order to oppose the carrying it into effect with the necessary tranquillity. They have not with all persons observed the greatest prudence in their conversation, forgetful of their character in which they appeared, and of the frankness which they were received in this city.

I ought not to omit, on this occasion, to satisfy your excellency with respect to the surprise which you tell me in your letter, already noticed, of the 10th of July, was felt by you at my stating in mine of the 1st of the same month, that your excellency was unwilling to enter into details on the subject of the establishment of mutual harmony. This complaint, which, I confess, surprised me much, was made by your excellency in your communication of the 18th of June, brought by my deputation. Your excellency will please to examine the original, and I hope your excellency will not persist in asserting officially, what can thus be refuted. Let us not be intolerant because we happen to differ in matters of opinion. Athens and Lacedemon, under different forms of government, attained equal glory and felicity; we have differed as to what best suits us, we have not yet fixed on the kind of government that is to be adopted, and for this reason our differences appear to be interminable; so that in whatsoever mode the question is received, there is the greater reason for referring it to the decision of the general congress; we shall otherwise be at variance, without the possibility of coming to a compromise; may the day of its accomplishment, with the establishment of our ardently desired liberty, soon arrive.

(Signed) IGNATIO ALVAREZ.

Buenos Ayres, 1st August, 1815.

GREGORIO TAGLE, Secretary.

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Official letter of Don Antonio Saens, to the director of the state, accompanied by the notes designated 1 and 2.

Most Excellent Sir,

I have entered into conference with the deputies of the chief of the Orientals, in pursuance of your excellensy's instructions. I considered it expedient not to defer it until they should produce sufficient credentials from the congress of Paysander, of which they declare themselves the deputies: it appeared to me that the informality of their powers ought not to stand in the way of the establishment of an honorable peace, when the stipulations might afterwards be legalized by confirmation; and as it is not possible for them to obtain regular from the congress which no longer exists, the adjustment may still be considered as made with the chief of the Orientals. After protracted debates, it was finally agreed that peace should be established, and that the Orientals should renounce their pretensions. Without a moment's loss of time, I proposed the establishment of its basis according to the principles agreed upon, and to sanction it by our signatures. But I soon found that in their conceptions it was not so easy to sign as to promise. They then delivered me the signed paper No. 1. I saw that it was not in my power to affirm it, on account of the doubts which it presented, and the interpretations of which it was susceptible, the simple proposition which it contains being conceived in vague and indefinite terms, and the authority of the Supreme Director narrowed in an offensive manner, placing it even below that of the chief of the Orientals, and being changed into the simple government of Buenos Ayres; and, finally, because it is not couched in the terms used amongst civilized nations. For these reasons I presented them the note No. 2, and requested their sanction. They replied, that the articles were conformable to what had been argued upon, in our conferences, but that they were all consequences of the single article establishing peace, &c.; they said they would religiously pledge their faith and honor, for the true performance of them, but that they were unwilling to sign the paper; this is the only reason they have thought proper to give for a conduct so strange. They dropt something, it is true, about its not being expedient to sign at the present moment, although just to do so, and that they would give an explanation of the reasons more fully on their return home. Such have been the subterfuges with which they have evaded signing the accommodation which I proposed them, and such also is the result of our protracted conferences. The most earnest and energetic representations have been unavailing to induce them to desist from a conduct so injurious. The conferences at length closed, without effecting any thing.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) ANTONIO SAENS.

Buenos Ayres, 4th August, 1815.

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To the supreme director.

No. 1.

The citizens Don Jose Garcia de Cassio, Don Jose Antonio de Cabriera, Don Pasqual Andino, and Don Miquel Barriero, deputies from the congress of the Orientals, to treat of peace with the government of Buenos Ayres, have terminated a conference with citizen Don Antonio Saens, authorized by his excellency for that purpose, with this only proposition:

There shall be peace between the territories under the government of the chief of the Orientals, and his protection, and the government of Buenos Ayres.

(Signed.) MIQUEL BARRIERO,
DON JOSE GARICIA DE CASSIO,
DON PASCAL ANDRINO,
JOSE ANTONIO CABRERA.

Signed at Buenos Ayres the 3d of August, 1815.

No. 2.

The commissioner, on behalf of his excellency the Supreme Director of the state, appointed to treat of peace with the four deputies, who have come for this purpose from Paysander, sent by general Artigas, requires, that the sole proposition of peace, which they have subscribed, should be reduced to a formal, and solemn treaty, as expressed in the following articles.

First. There shall be perpetual peace, friendship, and alliance between the chief of the Orientals, and the government of Buenos Ayres.

Second. The same shall be established between the citizens who reside under the government and protection of each.

Third. Both territories and governments shall be independent of each other.

Fourth. The Parana shall be the line of demarcation between them.

Fifth. Each of the contracting parties shall renounce all claims to indemnity, for what may have been attributed to the common cause.

Sixth. They likewise oblige themselves to send deputies to the congress of Tucuman.

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Seventh. The vessels which have left Buenos Ayres for Monte Video, or other parts under the chief of the Orientals, shall be permitted to return.

Eighth. A veil thall be cast over the past, and no one be persecuted for his conduct heretofore.

Ninth. The four deputies of the congress of Paysander, shall produce sufficient powers to ratify the treaty.

Tenth. The present treaty shall be ratified by the competent authorities in three days, and by the congress assembled at Paysander, within twelve.

(Signed) ANTONIO SAENS.

Buenos Ayres, 3d August, 1815.

Another official letter from his excellency, the director of the state, to the chief of the Orientals.

After having delivered to the deputies from your excellency the communication dated the first of the present month, advising you of the result of the last negotiations, they proposed that some mode should be adopted to render negotiation less difficult. I immediately took steps for this purpose, in order that the deputies might depart in peace, and that the same should be with this government. I repeated that I should be unchangeable in my principles of moderation, and that I would preserve all possible harmony as far as was compatible with the honor and interests of the provinces over which I have the honor to preside. I expect the like sentiments on the part of your excellency, and in this confidence, I pray you to permit the return of the vessels which have left this river in good faith to the ports of the eastern shore, and which suffer great prejudice in consequence of the detention. In this case, justice will acquire the credit of generosity, and variance of opinion on the part of the governments will be less calamitous to the unfortunate citizens who have no part in their discords.

(Signed) IGNACIO ALVAREZ.

Buenos Ayres, August 7th, 1815.

Gregorio Tagle.

To general Jose Artigas, chief of the Orientals.

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I.

General Artigas to the supreme director, Pueyerredon.

(Translation.)

EXCELLENT SIR,

How long does your excellency mean to sport with my forbearance? Eight years of revolution, of privations, of dangers, of reverses, and misfortunes, ought to have sufficed to establish the rectitude of my intentions, and the character of my government; the dignity of the Oriental people has more than once shone forth: they ought to know the delicacy I have manifested in reference to the inalienability of their sacred rights; and your excellency has the boldness to insult them! Your excellency is doing every thing in your power to provoke my moderation; the thought of this alone should cause your excellency to tremble. However specious may be the motives alleged in support of such conduct, they are incompatible with the general interest assailed by the Portuguese aggression. Your excellency is guilty of a criminal conduct in repeating those slanderous insults under cover of which the enemy believe the success of their invasion to be certain.

It is in vain for your excellency to attempt a display of the generosity of your sentiments; the course of events alone is sufficient to refute the attempt, and these prove that your excellency is more zealously occupied in embroiling the nation, than inspiring freemen with the energy which should animate them against tyrants,-otherwise, how could your excellency have ventured to publish the pretended recognition of the government of Buenos Ayres by the Orientals? A crime of so revolting a nature could only be perpetrated by the most impure hands; and your excellency has had the audacity to commit it! But it was in conformity with the mysterious plans of your excellency to destroy the firmest rampart opposed to their execution. A people enthusiastic in the cause of their liberties must be taken by surprise: the dangers are every moment increasing, and the recognition, before mentioned, was brought in aid of your excellency's designs for our common destruction. Your excellency knows sufficiently well the dignity of my character, and that the unjust reproaches heaped upon me are the offspring of your perfidy: and this is the foundation upon which your excellency rests your disgraceful neutrality! But it is in vain to imagine, that this paltry excuse can justify your excellency in the treachery of supplying the enemy at Monte Video with wheat, while besieged by me. It is also a fact little to the honor of your excellency, that you have made arrangements for a third expedition

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against Santa Fee, with a view to foment the intrigues of the Parana, and promote insurrection on the eastern shore. The same unfriendly disposition induced your excellency to protect the Portuguese who fled from Seriano, sending them back to their general, while instead of practising a similar generosity toward the chief of the Orientals, you did not think proper to return the arms and other articles, which those persons carried with them in the vessels on board of which they fled. It is thus that your excellency has endeavored to seize a favorable moment to light up the fire of discord, to plot with the Portuguese, and excite disaffection in the regiment of Libertos, seducing them to your side, and receiving them in triumph: an act of so gross a character cannot be mentioned without scandalizing the perpetrator; and your excellency is still the Supreme Director of Buenos Ayres.

An officer, openly in the service of Portugal, could not have acted more faithfully for his king; and to the impartial mind it must have been evident that your conduct was dictated by motives much more black, than the cold neutrality which you allege. But whatever may be the merit of our respective criminations, sound reason declares them to be out of place, in the presence of an ambitious stranger; more than once have I exhibited an example to your excellency, of my determination to act up to this principle. Alas! It is but too true, that the road of virtuous patriotism, is as rough as the name of country is delightful. Without proving a traitor to your own understanding, it is impossible for your excellency to be indifferent upon the subject of the detestable incursion of general Lecor, into our territory. Your excellency has already protested against his conduct, and how will your excellency deny the work of your own hands? Are not the Portuguese of this year, the same as of the last? Do not the same complaints exist now as then? Has not your excellency outraged the people of Santa Fee, and in them, those of the other provinces? Confess sir, that you have no other object in putting on this affected neutrality, but to conceal your intrigues. The Supreme Director of Buenos Ayres, neither can, nor ought to be neutral. Did not your excellency accuse the Portuguese general of violating the laws of civilized warfare, in the threat he held out against the Orientals? And how can this be reconciled to the character of a neutral? Be then a neutral, an indifferent spectator, an enemy; but let me tell you to beware of the just indignation of those, who having sacrificed every thing to the love of liberty, fear nothing but its loss.

Renounce the despicable expectation that on the ruin of the Orientals you may one day raise the lofty column of your glory, and our degradation. The greatness of the Orientals is only to be compared with itself. They know how to meet dangers, to subdue them, and to be reanimated by the presence of their oppressors. I, at their head, shall march wherever danger threatens. Your excellency knows me and ought to fear the justice of my vengeance. Your excellency does not cease to repeat insults, offensive to my moderation, and to the

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discredit of the common cause. Your excellency ought not to think me insensible. While I am in the field, engaged in a bloody conflict with the invaders, you are laboring to weaken our force by mingling with it an affair, which does not fail to excite well founded suspicions. While I am engaged in opposing the Portuguese, you are taking measures to favor them: would your excellency in my place have regarded these things with a serene countenance? I acknowledge to your excellency that I have made a sacrifice of my feelings to my country which claimed a concentration of all its forces. It was this which induced me to seek a peace with your excellency, while you were endeavoring to provoke me to a war. I opened the door, which, for weighty reasons, I ought to have kept shut. I sent back to you the officers taken prisoners, without subjecting them to the sufferings which ought to have followed the crime of their violent, and cruel aggession against an innocent people. Your excellency cannot deny those acts of generosity, and which, notwithstanding your repeated promises of reconciliation, you have not been able to equal.

It is true your excellency did send some supply of arms to the Parana, but without giving me the least intimation of it: this deceitful act had for its object, the exculpation of your excellency from the charge of indifference, in the eyes of the provinces, and evinces the fertility of your machinations; but do not think that this shallow artifices will enable you to escape. We have just experienced the effects of this generosity, in the disturbance of the Parana, and Entre Rios. Can it be concealed from the provinces with what views these arms were distributed, when done without the knowledge of the chief? Let me pray your excellency to cease your generosity, if such are to be its effects: let me beseech you to refrain from aiding the country, if you can do nothing but obscure its splendor: by such hateful scenes? No, sir, it is not from you, that our country can expect to be freed from the ambition of the Brazilian king: instead of boasting of having saved the country, your excellency has nothing to boast of, but of having tortured my patience to the utmost point of endurances. I have suffered for my country, and yet, your excellency dares to criminate me in public, and in private. I have no need like your excellency of having defenders; incontrovertable facts speak in my behalf.

Sir, I am still ready to enter into an amicable adjustment of our difference, so as to unite our forces against the Portuguese; and I repeat the offer which I made in June last. I then requested, that deputies should be sent, with full powers to draw closer, and closer, the ties of union. Your excellency could not deny the importance of this request, and engaged to send them. In consequence of this, I announced to the people the pleasing hope of reconciliation; but until the present day, nothing but disappointment has been the result; your excellency, it seems, has had the affrontery to announce that deputies were expected from the eastern shore, at Buenos Ayres.

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It is but little becoming in your excellency to frustrate so desirable an object, and aftewards calumniate me: this is the last insult I am willing to bear, and henceforth must request your excellency to be silent. Such imposture is not less injurious to the reciprocity of the country, than insulting to me. In opposing the reconciliation of the two shores, your excellency can be regarded in no other light, than as a criminal, and unworthy of consideration.

Your excellency by this time must be wearied in hearing truths, but you ought to be more so in giving cause for them. They are stamped with the characters of sincerity and justice. Your excellency has occasionally provoked my moderation: my wounded honor will demand satisfaction. I speak for once and for all, your excellency is responsible before the altars of the country, for an inaction incompatible with its interests, and the day will, when its justice will call you to a severe account.

In the mean time, I challenge your excellency to appear with me in front of the enemy, and to combat with a courage which will display all the virtues that render glorious the American name.

I have the honor to salute you excellency with cordiality and respectful consideration.

FERNANDO JOSE ARTIGAS.

Purification, November 13, 1817.

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J.

TRASLATION.

Extract from the Gazette of Buenos Ayres of the 5th of February, 1818.

INVASION OF THE PORTUGUESE.

In the Gazette of the 1st of December last, we published the official letter of his excellency the director, to the Portuguese general in the Banda Oriental, requiring him to cease his march into a territory, whose union with the United Provinces of the South, had not been renounced, but accidentally suspended. The Portuguese general, in his reply, denied the principles on which this protest was founded, insisting on the pretext which had induced his court to a rupture so unjustifiable; but as at the same time, he referred for his justification to the orders of his prince, from which he was not at liberty to depart, there were reasons to suspect that from the slowness of his operations, and other circumstances, that he might possibly have received instructions to suspend his marches, and evacuate the country unjustly invaded. This doubt has disappeared with the event, and the occupation of Monte Video, has been preceded by an action, in which that precious soil has been moistened by the blood of its sons. We shall hereafter make some further observations upon this conduct; at present we shall insert the reply of the Portuguese general, as also an official letter of his excellency the director, transmitted by Don Manuel Roxas, who sailed for Monte Video the 2d of the present month.

Official letter of the General of the Portuguese army, in the Banda Oriental, in reply to that of this government, published in the Gazette of the 1st of December last.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR,

Taking into consideration what you have been pleased to communicate to me in your official letter of the 13th of October last* past, delivered to me by colonel Vedia, on the 24th of this month, November, I can assure your excellency, that my marches have for their sole object, the removal of the germ of disorder from the frontier of the kingdom of Brazil, and the occupation of a country abandoned to a state of anarchy.

* This letter has been mislaid.

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This wise and necessary measure, ought in no respect to excite uneasiness in the government of Buenos Ayres, since it has been executed in a territory, which has declared itself independent of the western side.

The most scrupulous regard has been paid to the armistice concluded on the 26th of May, 1812, establishing amity between the two countries; and in case of being attacked, I shall only act on the defensive, until the receipt of further orders from my king and sovereign.

The proclamation which I enclose to your excellency, [the same which has already appeared in our newspapers,] will make known the spirit in which I come to this unfortunate country by the commands of my sovereign.

I continue my marches, which can only be suspended by order of the king, my sovereign; and it will shortly be in my power, to manifest to your excellency the good faith of my military operations, by a better opportunity and from a nearer point.

I thank your excellency for the occasion you have afforded me, of being acquainted with colonel Vidia.

God preserve your excellency.

Head-quarters, in Paso of San Miguel, 27th November, 1816.

CARLOS FREDERICO LECOR,

Lieutenant General.

Illmo. and Excmo.
D. Juan Martin Pueyrredon.

Reply to the foregoing letter by the Supreme Director.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR,

The suspension which I observed in the operations of the army under your command, after the receipt of your reply of the 27th of November last, together with the proclamation which it enclosed, gave me reason to hope, that your excellency doing honor to the armistice concluded the 26th of May, 1812, between his H. F. M. and this government, whose violent infraction I protested against under date of the 31st of October last, would refrain from giving rise to the horrors of war; or at least, that you would enter into some temporary arrangement, until the explanations of your court could be obtained, in an affair considered not less important to the inhabitants west of the Urugay and the Parana, than to those of the Banda Oriental. Your excellency, notwithstanding, at an unexpected moment, hastened your marches; and, under the sole justification of force, have gone so far as to oppress with your arms, the place

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which you now occupy, but without any other effect than to convince you of the abomination with which its inhabitants regard every foreign yoke.

The assurances which your excellency presents to this government, in your beforementioned official letter, far from affording tranquillity, only excites our alarm; and the United Provinces, in the last steps of your excellency, can discover nothing but the sad presage of the evils, which threaten them, should they remain insensible to the aspirations of a foreign power, over a constituent part of the nation.

In order to demand an explanation of this aggression, upon the rights of the provinces, so notoriously unjust, I have determined to send an envoy extraordinary to H. F. M. as also to learn the origin and object of a war, which will be provoked with a state at peace, in order to secure the immunity of the Banda Oriental.

Until the reply of H. F. M. shall have been received, I hope your excellency will not prosecute the war in that territory, but immediately suspend the operation of your arms, under a provisional armistice, which will be entered into by means of a person whom I shall send with sufficient authority, so soon as your excellency will inform me of your willingness to meet my proposal, as I hope will be done by the hand of colonel Manuel Roxas, who is the bearer of this communication.

If your excellency, in strict obedience to the orders of your sovereign, under these extraordinary circumstances, should continue the war, your excellency will be responsible to humanity for the blood that will be shed; and the impartial world will justify the means of indemnity, that will be taken for the sacrifices of conquest, protesting, as I do, against all usurpation of territory, comprehended within the limits recognized before the opening of the campaign of your excellency, and beyond the frontiers of the kingdom of Brazil. God preserve your excellency many years.

JUAN MARTIN PUEYRREDON.

House of the government of Buenos Ayres,
1st February, 1817.

GEN. FREDERICO LECOR.

NOTE.—*Documents C, K, and L, are omitted.*

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[48]

MESSAGE

FROM

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

TRANSMITTING

COPIES OF THE REMAINDER OF THE DOCUMENTS

REFERRED TO

IN HIS MESSAGE OF THE SEVENTEENTH ULT

DECEMBER 15, 1818.

Read, and ordered to lie upon the Table.

WASHINGTON:

PRINTED BY E. DE KRAFFT.

1818.

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To the House of Representatives of the United States:

I lay before the House of Representatives, copies of the remainder of the documents, referred to in the message of the 17th of last month.

JAMES MONROE.

December 15th, 1816.

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LIST OF PAPERS.

A. Report of Theodorick Bland, Esq. on Buenos Ayres.

B. do. do. do. on Chile.

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REPORT

OF

THEODORICK BLAND, ESQ. ON SOUTH AMERICA.

[A.] BUENOS AYRES.

Baltimore, 2d November, 1818.

SIR,

The fair prospects which seemed to be opening upon some portions of the people of South America; the lively sympathy for their cause, felt by the citizens of the United States; and the deep interests of our country in the fate of those provinces, where colonial rule, or independent freedom, seem to have been put at issue, and contested with all the energy which such a stake never fails to excite, justly attracted the most serious attention of the government. In whatever disposition of mind the South American contest, and its scenes were contemplated; whether with feelings of benevolence, and the best wishes, or with regret, and under a sense of injury, the first thought, that which appeared most naturally to arise in the mind of every one, was, the want of information as to the actually existing state of things. A new people were, evidently making every possible effort against their transatlantic masters, and preparing themselves to claim a recognition in the society of the nations of the earth. In this struggle, each contending party, endeavoring to strike his antagonist beyond the immediate area of the conflict, our commercial rights had frequently received a blow, and our municipal regulations were sometimes violated. New and fertile regions, rich and extensive channels of commerce were apparently about to be opened to the skill and enterprize of the people of the United States; as to all which, their feelings and their interests seemed to require to be gratified with further information. Under these considerations it became the earnest wish, and was deemed the right and the duty of our government to explain the views it had, in some of its measures; by timely representations and remonstrances, to prevent the further injury which our commercial and other rights were likely to sustain; and to procure correct intelligence as to the existing state of affairs in those parts of our continent, where the revolutionary movements had attracted the most attention and excited the strongest interest.

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For this purpose, three persons, of whom I had the honor to be one, were selected and sent in a public ship to South America. Who being, among other things, directed, that, "if, while in the execution of their instructions at Buenos Ayres, they should find it expedient or useful, with reference to the public service, that one or more of them should proceed over land to Chile, they were authorized to act accordingly." They did, therefore, at Buenos Ayres, take into consideration the expediency and utility of going to Chile, and did there determine, that, under the then existing circumstances, it would be expedient and useful for one or more of them to go to that country. In consequence of which, I crossed the Andes, and having returned, it now becomes my duty to communicate a statement of such facts, circumstances, and documents as I have been able to collect, and which presented themselves as most likely to be of importance, or in any manner useful to the nation.

When I contemplate the wide range of the expectations of the government, as indicated by our instructions; and the vast extent of the subject; and, more especially, when I meditate on the novelty and complicated nature of the scene I am called on to portray; and the many circumstances peculiar to the state of society in South America, which cast a shade of obscurity over its affairs, and in some instances have absolutely, as yet, closed the avenues of information. I feel myself under the necessity of asking for the most liberal indulgence for the errors I may have fallen into, as well from the difficulties of the subject in itself, as from my own want of ability to remove them.

We sailed in the United States' frigate the Congress, from Hampton Roads on the fourth of December, (1817,) and touched, as directed, at Rio Janeiro, where we delivered the despatches committed to our charge to Mr. Sumpter the minister of the United States resident there. After a stay of a few days, we proceeeded thence, direct for the River Plate, which we ascended in the Congress as far as Montevideo. Mr. Graham and myself visited that city, and found it, with the country immediately around, to the extent of about three miles, in the actual possession of a Portuguese army, under the command of general Lacor. We were treated by the general with politeness, and an offer was made by him of permission to procure there, every facility we might want to convey us thence to Buenos Ayres; and also of leave to obtain for the ship every refreshment and accommodation she might want—finding that it would be impossible for the Congress to proceed much further up the river, owing to there not being a sufficient depth of water for her over a bar between Montevideo and Buenos Ayres, which traverses the river entirely, and on which it is only eighteen feet deep, we took passage, thence in a small vessel, and landed at Buenos Ayres on the 28th day of February last.

After consulting and advising together, as to the extent, object, and manner of executing our instructions, it seemed to us, that no

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time should be lost in presenting ourselves to the government, or chief constituted authorities of the place; and, in making known to them all those subjects, which we were directed to present to their view. In arranging those points, it was deemed most proper, in the first place, to express the friendly and neutral disposition of our government, and to place in a fair and amicable point of view those measures which it had been supposed were likely to be interesting, or materially to affect the feelings, or the claims of the people of the river Plate; and then to present the injuries, many of the citizens of the United States had sustained, and the infractions of their laws, which had been committed by armed vessels, assuming the name and character of patriots, belonging to the independent governments of South America, and to seek the information which our government had directed us to obtain; and which it had been deemed most advisable to procure from the public functionaries themselves as far as practicable.

Accordingly, after ascertaining the names and style of the principal personages in authority, we called on his honor El Senor Don Gregorio Tagle, the secretary of state; and, having made known to him who we were, and expressed our wish to have an interview with the chief magistrate of the country, a day and hour was appointed for the purpose, when, we called, and were, accordingly, introduced by the secretary of state, to his excellency El Senor Don Juan Martin de Puerrydon, the supreme director of the United Provinces of South America. After the interchange of some complimentary expressions of politeness, good wishes, and friendly dispositions, we made known to the director, in general terms, the character of special agents, in which we had been sent by our government to communicate with him; and that our communications might be either with himself or his secretary. The director replied, that they would be received in a spirit of brotherly friendship, and in that form and through either of those channels which we should deem most convenient.

In a short time after our introduction to the director, and in about a week after our arrival, we waited on the secretary of state, as being the most formal, and respectful mode of making our communications to this new and provisional revolutionary government. We stated to the secretary, that our government had not viewed the struggle now pending between the provinces of South America and Spain, merely as a rebellion of colonists; but as a civil war, in which each party was entitled to equal rights and equal respect; that the United States had, therefore, assumed and would preserve with the most impartial, and the strictest good faith a neutral position; and in the preservation of this neutrality, according to the established rules of the law of nations, no rights, previleges, or advantages would be granted by our government to one of the contending parties which would not, in like manner, be extended to the other. The secretary expressed his approbation of this course; but, in an interview subsequent to the first, when the neutral position of the United States

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was again spoken of, he intimated a hope, that the United States might be induced to depart from its rigid neutrality in favor of his government—to which we replied, that as to what our government might be induced to do, or what would be its future policy towards the patriots of South America we could not, nor were we authorized to say any thing.

We stated to the secretary, that certain persons assuming the name, character, and authority of an independent government in some part of the Mexican portion of South America, had, not long since, taken possession of Amelia Island, where they had attempted, with the name of the patriot cause, to put on the garb, and exercise the rights incident to national independency; that this island, so seized, lay on the coast of the Atlantic, and immediately adjoining the boundary of the United States; that the persons by whom it was held, under the name of the patriot authority, had committed numerous violations, and piratical depredations on the commerce of most nations found in that neighborhood, and more especially on that of the United States; they had not only lawlessly seized our vessels which were navigating those seas rightfully and in peace; but the immediate vicinity of the island to our territory had enabled them to commit other outrages on our rights, no less serious and injurious; it was used by a nest of smugglers to introduce their merchandise into the United States without paying the duties; it had become a harbor for runaway slaves from the neighborhood; and it had become a place of deposit for the most infamous of all traffic, the trade in cargoes of slaves, which were landed there, and thence, illegally introduced into the adjoining states, in violation of the most positive prohibition. Thus, defrauding our revenue, depriving our citizens of their property, and disturbing our peace; that the cruisers, which so mischievously prowled the ocean from this island, not being at all scrupulous about consistency of character, had, as was found most convenient, assumsd the flag of Buenos Ayres, or that of the other patriot governments of South America—that, notwithstanding, the notoriety of the daring violences committed by this band of adventurers of Amelia Island, it appeared, that Spain, too feeble or otherwise too much occupied, had not extended its authority over it, and suppressed what could not but be considered as an expulsion and contempt of its jurisdiction. We further stated, on this subject, that a station in all respects similar and as pernicious had been formed at a place called Galvezton, situated near the mouth of Trinity River, and immediately on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico—That, under these circumstances, the United States had deemed it a right and a duty to break up, and entirely to remove those two establishments; as well to preserve their own interests, and that of their citizens, as their peace with other nations; and, that the government of Buenos Ayres, we were sure, could not fail to see, in this measure, the highly honorable and amicable disposition of the United States towards all foreign nations, and more especially to perceive the happy effect which it

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would have on the patriot name and cause, by preventing it from being soiled with the imputation of acts, which the really honorable patriot governments did not deserve and could not countenance. We stated in addition, that our government would take and hold possession of Amelia Island, in order to prevent the misuse of it in future, subject to explanations to be given to Spain; and that Galveston would be taken possession of and held as a part of the territory of the United States.

To which the secretary replied, that the government of Buenos Ayres had not before been informed, or heard of the abuses committed by those who had taken possession of Amelia Island and Galveston; that it had no connexion whatever with those who had exercised any authority at either of those places, and that the removal of those establishments could not fail to be attended with good consequences to the patriot cause, by preventing any improper imputations being cast on it; and therefore, his government could, certainly, only see in that measure of the United States, the manifestation towards it of the most friendly disposition. We stated to the secretary, that it had been understood, that many unprincipled and abandoned persons, who had obtained commissions as privateers from the independent patriot government, had committed great depredations on our commerce; and, had evidently, got such commissions, not so much from any regard to the cause of independence and freedom, as with a view to plunder; and that we entertained a hope, that there would be a due degree of circumspection exercised by that government in granting commissions which, in their nature, were so open to abuse.

The secretary replied, that there had hitherto been no formal complaint made against any of the cruisers of Buenos Ayres; and if any cause of complaint should exist, his government would not hesitate to afford proper redress, on a representation and proof of the injury; that the government of Buenos Ayres, had taken every possible precaution, in its power, in such cases; that it had established and promulgated a set of rules and regulations for the government of its private armed vessels, a copy of which should be furnished us; and, that it had in all cases, as far as practicable, enjoined and enforced a strict observance of those regulations and the law of nations.

We stated to the secretary, that a considerable portion of the people of the United States had manefested a very favorable disposition towards the patriot cause in South America; and the government also, had every disposition to treat the patriot authorities with the justice, dignity, and favour which they merited; that although our government had, for the present, determined on adhering to a strict and impartial neutrality between the contending parties, it might yet deem it politic and just hereafter to adopt other measures; and, therefore, with a view to regulate its conduct and policy with perfect good faith and candour, as well with regard to its neutrality, as with regard to any other measures it might deem advisable to take, it had

charged us, as special agents, to seek and endeavor to obtain, in this country, such information as to the actual state of things, as would enable it to act with correctness, precision, and understandingly in whatever course it may hereafter pursue. That the information, thus to be obtained, might be of a character deserving the highest confidence, we had been directed to ask it of those actually in authority, and of the then existing government of the country. We observed, that we did, then, in pursuance of our instructions, ask of that government to furnish us with a statement, or full information as to the actually existing state of things; of what number of provinces that government was composed; the form of its confederacy, and the constitution by which they were united; the population in each province; the principal commodities of commerce, the imports and exports; the amount of its revenue derived from foreign commerce as well as from internal taxation; the strength of its regular army, and the number of its militia; the amount of its tonnage and the strength and number of its public and private vessels of war; and what were its relations with foreign nations, or with the adjoining provinces; or had the government of Buenos Ayres formed any treaty, or any understanding with any foreign nation, or with any other of the provinces of South America, who had actually declared themselves independent, or were then in a state of revolution and at war with Spain. We assured the secretary, that our government sought for this information from an experience of the want of it, and in a spirit of the most perfect amity; that until the commencement of the present revolutionary movements in that country, it had been so comparatively locked up from the eye, observation, and intercourse of every foreign nation, that the real state of things in it had been but very imperfectly; and, in some respects, were wholly unknown; that the friendship so openly and decidedly expressed by a considerable portion of the people of the United States would furnish conclusive proof of the spirit of good will in which this information was sought; and, in itself, was a guarantee, that their government would, under no circumstances, use the communications that might be made for improper or unfriendly purposes towards the people of that country. But, if, that government should think proper to note any communications it should make, as private and confidential, we pledged ourselves, that our government would never suffer it to go to the public; if, indeed, there could be wanting any other more solemn and decided manifestation of respect, on its part, than the very act itself of our having been sent in a public ship of war to have this intercourse with them. The secretary, in reply said, that his government had the greatest confidence in the friendly dispositions of that of the United States; and, that the people of the two countries were friends and brothers; felt as such, and would act towards each other as brothers; that the information sought for should certainly be granted, and that orders would be given to the proper public functionaries to collect, digest, and arrange it in the most acceptable, and intelligible

form; that, as regarded foreign nations, they had, hitherto, had no official communication with any of them; and that their relations with all, except Spain, were those of mere peace, such as were obvious to the world, without any treaty or stipulation of any kind whatever; that, from some, they had met with acts of injustice and hostility, but, finding themselves so much occupied with their revolutionary movements as to be unable to resist or resent, they had, therefore, borne with wrong, and suffered the mere relations of peace to continue.

We had several conversations with the secretary, all of which were asked for by us, in the course of which the matters I have related were fully and in various forms reiterated and explained to him; and in all, from the first to the last, the request for information was repeated in terms of similar import, and at each interview the promise of its being soon and fully granted was renewed.

As the promised communication was not, however, made before I took leave of the director and left Buenos Ayres, I shall proceed to present such information, relative to the United Provinces of South America, as I have been able to collect from those sources which were, within my reach, and that appeared to deserve confidence; leaving my statements to be corrected by the official account, which I understand has been furnished by the government of Buenos Ayres, where they materially differ, or to be revised by any other standard you may think proper to apply.

The new political union, whose government we found seated on the shores of the river Plate, which once styled itself "The United Provinces of the river Plate," and which now, having been actuated by caprice, or by more correct, or by more enlarged views, assumes the name of "The United Provinces of South America," has declared the independence, and clams the privilege of self government for all the people, and the rights of a nation over all the territory of which the late Spanish vice royalty of Buenos Ayres, was composed in the beginning of the year 1810. It thus designates the boundaries of its territorial claims, and the extent of the jurisdiction it asserts. It will be proper, therefore, to trace out its extreme limits as the country relative to which our inquiries are to be more particularly directed.

The Spanish vice royalty of Buenos Ayres, is situated to the southward of the Portuguese dominions of Brazil, and according to the treaty of St. Ildefonso of 1777, the following boundary between them was finally adjusted: Beginning on the coast of the Atlantic at a place called Invernada de Felix Jose, a little to the south of the Rio Grande de St. Pedro; thence in a northerly direction along mountains or high lands to the Rio Iquacu or Caluetiba or Coreitiba; thence down that river to the Parana; thence up that river to the lower end of the Illia Grande do Salto; thence, in a westerly direction, to where the Rio Paraguay is intersected by the tropic of capricorn; thence up that river to the mouth of the Rio Latirequiqui, near the foot of the Cordillera de St. Fernando; where taking leave of the dominions of

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Brazil, the boundary of the vice royalty, excluding the Indian territory to the north, was further designated by a line directed; thence nearly west to the Sierras Altissimas; thence along the confines of the province of Mizque, and the Altos Intinuyo, including the province of La Paz, to the Cordilleras of the Andes which passes to the westward of Oruro, and Paria, to the Cordellera Real; thence south, along the most elevated summit of the principal Cordellera of the Andes, until it is intersected by the parallel of thirty-eight and a half degrees of south latitude; thence due east to the Atlantic; thence with the coast of the ocean to the beginning at Invernada de Felix Jose.

To the south of latitude thirty eight degrees and an half, and between the Andes and the Atlantic, as far as the straits of Magellan, is, at present, entirely in possession of the various tribes of Patagonian savages, over whom the colonial government exercised no authority nor asserted any claim, other than that of a right of preemption and of settlement in their territory, against all foreign nations; to which rights and benefits the independent government claims to have succeeded. That tract of country which now forms the three provinces of Mendoza, San Juan, and St. Louis, and which, under the Spanish government, was called the province of Cuyo, was, about half a century ago, attached to the colonial vice royalty, of Chile: since that time, it has continually belonged to Buenos Ayres. And the province of Arica, which covers that space to the westward of Potosi and Chichas from the summit of the Andes down to the Pacific Ocean, was, by a royal order about the year 1774, taken from the vice royalty of Buenos Ayres and annexed to that of lower Peru or Lima; and is, at present under that jurisdiction.

The vast elevated plains, a great part of which are, in the rainy season, entirely overflowed, lying to the north of the Llanos de Manso and the Sisrras Attessimas, that are traversed by the principal branches of the Rio Madeira, which winds its way along the back of Brazil into the Maranon, and that are also drained of their waters by some of the branches of the Paraguay, and which, are comprehended under the three colonial divisions of the Chequitos, the government of Santa Cruiz de la Sierra, and the province of the Moxos de Musu, like the great Pampas to the southward of the Rio de la Plata, seem to be destined to eternal vacancy, or to the rearing of innumerable herds, and to be inhabited only by their keepers. At present they are in the possession of several tribes of Indians, over whom, and their territory, the government of the vice royalty claimed no other right or jurisdiction than over the Pampas of the south; which, however, the patriot government, in like manner, asserts, has devolved on it by the revolution.

To the westward of Paria and Oruro, lie the provinces or jurisdictions of Carangas, Pacajes or Berenguela, and to the north of La Paz, and to the west of the Cordillera de Acama lie in the provinces, or districts of Omasuyos, Chucuyto or Puno, Lampa, Asangaro and some others; all of which are said, by Ulloa, to be within the audi-

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cese of Charcas, the scene of the celebrated rebellion of Tupac Amaru; and which audience, according to Dean Funes, was given entire to the vice royalty of Buenos Ayres when it was erected; and it is so laid down. But I have excluded these provinces by the general outline I have drawn of the vice royalty: because, not being able to learn that any revolutionary movements had been made in them, I wished to disencumber the subject of our survey as much as possible; as well, by separating it from such districts, as from Indian territory.

Such are then, the outlines of this union, or rather proposed government, and asserted confederation; embracing an extent of territory much more prodigious than has ever been yet known to be comprehended under one and the same voluntary association. Excluding the great triangular space of Indian territory, of upwards of two hundred thousand square miles in extent; called the Llanos de Manso, lying between the province of Paraguay and the mountains: and excluding also the high plains to the north, and the Pampas to the south, we shall find a mixed and civilized population of one million and eighty thousand souls scattered over a space of about seven hundred and sixty three thousand square miles, from one extremity of it to the other. The thirteen United States of North America, within the boundary designated by the treaty of 1783, comprehended a territory of about eight hundred and thirty-one thousand square miles. They erected almost all, and some of the best of their political institutions in the severest season of the irrevolutionary struggle, in "a time that tried men's souls:" they vanquished their enemy, and accomplished the final establishment of their independence and freedom, with a population of about three millions, seated between the sea shore and the mountains, on a tract of country of not more than two hundred and fifty thousand square miles; their population was composed, almost exclusively of agriculturalists, very thinly scattered, as was said of them, over an immense forest. The difficulties which the invader had to encounter, the ease with which his blows were parried or eluded, and the fortitude with which he was met, and the deadly skill with which he was struck, it has been often said were owing to various peculiar circumstances; to the nature of the country, its water courses, forests, mountains and fastnesses; to the habits, manners, and customs of the people arising out of their political institutions, their situation and their necessities. Each, no doubt, had some effect; and, in the natural order of events, tended to the same great end, the accomplishment of our independence and freedom.

A revolutionary struggle not materially dissimilar to that which so much excited the interest and feelings of the civilized world, as exhibited on the northern coasts of the Atlantic, is now making some of its most active efforts on the shores of La Plata, and within the extensive limits I have designated. The people of the United States, who sympathise warmly with this new contest, will take great interest

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in drawing out a comparison of difficult situations, and deducing inferences from trying circumstances analagous to those, with which, they or their fathers formerly contended; and, to enable their government to act understandingly, and to bestow their friendship in a manner worthy of its dignity and value, it will be necesaary to look over and examine this newly asserted union; to survey the locality of the several parts of which it is composed, and to estimate the numbers and powers of each; to measure the spaces between them, that we may form some opinion as to how and when they may be filled; to see how each has been, and how it is now governed; and to inspect the bonds which hold them together, and the repulsive principles which have driven some of them asunder. It will be proper, that these things should be done, that we may understand how much it is to be attributed to nature and how much to accident; how far the revolution has been promoted by the virtues and patriotic wishes of the people, and how much retarded by designing and ambitious military leaders; what is to be feared, and what to be hoped from the future.

The vice royalty of Buenos Ayres, like all others of the Spanish possessions in America, was laid out into civil and ecclesiastical divisions, which grew up under peculiar circumstances, were, from time to time, altered, and often cast from the jurisdiction of one vice roy or governor under that of another, according to the increase or change of population; as convenience suggested; or to gratify the caprice or cupidity of the regal rulers. And, besides the very nature of the colonial government itself, was but ill calculated to define and preserve, with any tolerable degree of distinctness, the territorial boundaries of the several audiences, provinces, bishopricks, jurisdictions, intendencies, presidios, and governments, into which the vice royalty was divided. I have, therefore, put together all I have been able to collect from books, and some intelligent persons; and, with what I saw, and by the help of the largest and best map extant of the country, corrected down to the year 1807, I shall describe, and give the name of *province* to each of those cities or districts, which appear to be politically distinct, by having been at any time so treated, or being now or at any time heretofore, separately represented in the body called the Sovereign Congress of the Union.

I propose first to direct your attention to the provinces successively, that we may note the geographical situation, extent, and population of them severally, and the relation which each one has, by representation or otherwise, with the confederacy—recollecting, that the ratio of representation, fixed by the existing government or Reglamento Provisorio, is one representative for every fifteen thousand citizens.

The province of Buenos Ayres, situated in the south eastern corner of the Union, is bounded by the Rio de la Plata; by the ocean to the southward of that river, by the territory of the Patagonian Indians as far as about the sixty-first degree of west longitude; thence

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by a line north to the Aroyo del Medio; thence by that water course to the Paraguay; and, thence by that river to the Rio de la Plata. This is by much the most populous of the provinces below the mountains. It contains according to the last census ninety-eight thousand one hundred and five souls; which is said to be, exclusive of troops and transient persons; but including those, it is said to amount to one hundred and five thousand persons of all descriptions. The army, quartered in Buenos Ayres, is said to amount to two thousand five hundred men, if so, then it follows, that exclusive of citizens and soldiers, this province contains a population of more than four thousand resident, foreigners and others. According to the same census, there are within the same city and suberbs of Buenos Ayres, forty-seven thousand one hundred and eighty four souls, exclusive of troops and transient persons. The principal towns or villages are Ensenada, St. Isidro, and Las Conchas on the river Plate, and Luxan in the plain. There are, besides these, some lesser groups of population, the rest of which is scattered over the plains of this pampa province; that may be estimated as containing fifty thousand square miles. In the city of Buenos Ayres is situated the strong fort, within which is the palace, where the former vice king dwelt, and which is now occupied as the residence of the supreme director. This city was formerly the capital and seat of the colonial government; and therefore, and for that reason, asserts and maintains, that it is of right, and ought now to be the capital and seat of the independent government; and the government is now seated there accordingly. This province is represented in the existing congress by seven representatives, which is its full quota according to its population.

The province, called Montevideo, under the royal government; but which, since the revolution, has acquired the appellation, and is most frequently designated by the name of the Banda Oriental, with relation to the river Uruguay, which forms its entire western boundary and from its lying wholy to the eastward of it. This province lies immediately opposite to that of Buenos Ayres, and is situated in the north eastern extremity of the Union; it is bounded by the ocean on the east; by the Rio de la Plata on the south; by the river Uruguay on the west; and by the Portuguese dominions of Brazil on the north. Its present population is said to amount to about forty-five thousand inhabitants; who have for their chief leader, and governor, general Jose Artigas. The city of St. Filipe, or Montevideo, as it is more usually called, from an elevated hill, or look out place, opposite to the point of land on which the city stands; contains at present, after the waste, devastation, and destruction of the English, Spaniards, and Portuguese in succession, a population of about ten thousand souls. Maldonado is another of its town, situated on the Rio de la Plata, near the sea coast, it contains about two thousand inhabitants. The capital, or present seat of government, is held at a place called Purification, formerly Capilla Nueva, it is a town which contains between three and four thousand inhabitants. This province, with some unsettled Indian territory, embraces about eighty-six thousand

square miles. It has no representative in congress, and refuses to be represented in that body under the present political system; and it is now at open war with Buenos Ayres.

The province of Santa Fe, within which may be included, what was called, under the colonial government, the jurisdiction of Corrientes, lies immediately adjoining and west of the Banda Oriental and Buenos Ayres. It extends in a narrow slip entirely across the union, from the Patagonian territory on the south, to the dominions of Brazil on the north. It is sometimes called the Entre Rios, from the greater portion of it lying between the rivers Uruguay, Paraguay and Parana. That part of the province which extends over the Pampas, south of the Paraguay, is bounded on the west by a line drawn nearly south from that river, above the city of Santa Fe, passing the eastern-most point of the Lagunas Salados de los Porongos, leaving the village of Frayle Muerto on the Rio Tercero to the west, unto the land of the Patagonians; thence east to the province of Buenos Ayres. This province of Santa Fe or Entre Rios, exclusive of the Guarana tribes of Indians, dwelling above Corrientes, and the Charrnas, seated below the city of Santa Fe, contains a civilized population of about twenty-five thousand souls. The city of Santa Fe, its capital, which is pleasantly and conveniently situated on the right bank of the Paraguay, is said to contain a population of not much more than six thousand inhabitants; and the city of Corrientes, farther up the river, is about the same size. This long, narrow province comprehends, including the territory of its Indians, about one hundred and four thousand five hundred square miles. In the year eighteen hundred and fourteen, and prior to that period, it had one representative in the Congress of the Union; it now has none, and is in alliance with the Banda Oriental, and at war with Buenos Ayres.

The province of Cordova is composed nearly of that which was formerly the colonial jurisdiction of Cordova. It is bounded by the territory of Santa Fe, and the Rio Salado on the east; by the Patagonian boundary over the Pampas on the south; thence, on the west, by a line to the Sierra de Comichigeles, and along that ridge to its northern extremity; thence in a northeast direction, including the town of Tamisqui, on the Rio Dulce; and, thence across the Rio Salado. Its capital, the city of Cordova, is a neat town, delightfully situated on the Rio Primero, and contains about ten thousand inhabitants. The population of the whole province is estimated at seventy-five thousand souls; and it measures about one hundred and five thousand square miles in extent. It has, heretofore, gone astray from the union; but, it has been brought back into the fold of the confederation by the bayonets of Buenos Ayres. It is reckoned a godo or tory province. It has now only three representatives in the existing congress although its full quota is five; because, as it is said, it does not choose to defray the expense of a greater number.

The province of Punta San Luis has been carved out of the easterly portion of the royal province of Cuyo. It is bounded on the

east by the territory of Cordova; on the south by the Patagonia Pampas; on the west by the Rio Moyalac, Leuvu, and the Desaguadero to the Laguna Grande; thence, on the north, by a line drawn in an easterly direction to the confines of Cordova. This province contains a population of not much more than ten thousand souls. Its chief town, and seat of government, is San Luis de la Punta, or the point of St. Lewis, from its being situated at the butt end of one of the ridges of the mountains of Cordova. The town contains about two thousand inhabitants, and is agreeably situated in a well watered velley. From this place, the post road, from Buenos Ayres to Mendoza, passes over the Travesia, the most dreary region I ever saw, sixty miles in breath, where there is not a single human habitation, nor one drop of fresh water to be had. The town of San Luis is made one of the principle places of confinement for the prisoners of war captured in Chile and on the frontiers of Peru. This province is the poorest, and has been always the most faithful to the union. It contains about forty thousand square miles in extent. One representative is now, and has always been received from it, although its population is below the given ration. The present supreme director, was its representative when he was elevated to the station he now holds.

To the westward of the province of San Luis, stretching along the great Cordillera which seperates it from Chile, as far south as the Rio Blanco, lies the province of Mendoza. This province is another, and the largest of those which have been formed out of the colonial one of Cuyo. Its whole population is calculated at thirty eight thousand inhabitants; of which, about twenty one thousand are found in the capital and its suberbs, the town of Mendoza; which is very advantageously situated on one of the branches of the Tunuyan immediately at the eastern foot of the Andes. Mendoza has a beautiful public walk, and has been much improved of late years. The province has always been zealous, and hearty in the cause of independence and liberty. It is of right entitled to two representatives; but it at present has only one member in the existing congress. It contains of plains and mountainous territory about thirty eight thousand square miles.

To the north of Mendoza, lying along the eastern foot of the Andes, and extending as far north as the ridge which separates the waters of the Rio Magana from those of the Rio Famatina, is that fine territory, bounded on the east by Cordova, formerly called the valley, now the province of San Juan. This includes the residue of what was formerly comprehended under the name of Cuyo. It embraces a tract of about thirty-six thousand square miles; and contains a population of thirty-four thousand souls, about nineteen thousand of which are seated in its capital, San Juan de la Frontera. The patriotic public spirit of San Juan has never been questioned; and, yet,

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it has no more than one representative in the present Congress, when according to its population it should have two.

Still further north, is that pleasant valley now called the province Rioja. Toward whose boundaries we are directed by the Rio Anqualasta, by which it is watered, and rendered fruitful; and, which, after lifting its arms in various directions among the surrounding mountains, that designate the confines of the province, terminates and subsides in a lake to the southward of Simbolan. Its whole surface may be estimated at twenty two thousand four hundred square miles. The population of this province amounts to twenty thousand souls, and its capital town is Todos Santos de Rioja la Nueva. Rioja has been always attached to the Union. It has, at present, one representative in Congress, and is entitled to no more.

Turning immediately to the east, and adjoining, we find the delightful valley of Catamarca, which now, with that of Conando, next to it on the north, forms the province of Catamarca. The adjacent ridges form a great rampart all round these two vallies and are the acknowledged and natural limits of the province. It contains a population of thirty-six thousand souls, and its chief city and seat of government is Catamarca. Its extent of territory does not exceed eleven thousand two hundred square miles. Catamarca, beside other efforts in the cause, has manifested its sincere devotion to independence and freedom, by furnishing from itself alone nearly six thousand men to the patriot army. It has now, however, no more than one representative, although its population entitles it to two.

Directly to the east of the valley of Catamarca lies the province of Santiago, formerly the colonial jurisdiction of Santiago del Estero. It is bounded on the south by the territory of Cordova; on the north by a line running in a north easterly direction from the head of the Hondo to the Laguna de Molaras, and by the Indian territory of the Great Llanos de Monso on the east. This province embraces a territory of forty thousand square miles in extent; and has a papulation of forty-four thousand souls. Its chief city, and seat of government, is Santiago del Estero, situated on the banks of the Rio Dulce, in which there are about ten or fifteen thousand inhabitants. Santiago has wavered in its attachment to the Union; but never been wanting in bravely defending the cause. Its population rightly entitles it to three representatives in Congress, it has however at present only one.

Along the whole northern frontier of Santiago, and of the valley of Conando, lies the province of Tucuman, formerly the royal jurisdiction of St. Miguel de Tucuman. It is bounded on the east by the mountains of the Yuanes; on the north by a line extended from that ridge westerly to the confluence of the Tala and the Salado; thence to the source of the Tala; thence along the ridges which include the valley of Palicipa to the great Cordillera; thence along the Andes to the Rio de Betlen; thence to the confines of the valley of Conanda. The population of this province amounts to forty-

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five thousand souls. Its chief city, and seat of government, is St. Miguel de Tucuman, situated on the Rio de St. Miguel, which unites with the Rio Dulce not far below the city. The province comprehends about an extent of fifty thousand square miles of territory; it has been generally attached to the Union and the cause. It was once honored with the presence of the Congress in which body it now has two representatives although it is entitled to three.

Rising from the unbroken plains, and proceeding still farther to the northward, we next enter the province of Salta, lying in level spaces among the elevated spurs of the Andes. It is bounded on the east by the Rio Vermejo; on the north by the Rio Grande to the confluence of the Aquilotes and Siancas; thence to the source of the Rio Pericó; thence including the valley of Calchaqui, which forms its western boundary. This province contains fifty thousand inhabitants, and an extent of forty one thousand square miles of territory. Its chief city is San Filipe el Real de Salta. Salta has been accused of wavering in its attachment to the Union and the cause, but it has been very much the seat of war. It is now said to be a firm member of the confederation, and it is made the head quarters of the patriot army of Peru under general Belgrano. Although it ought to have three representatives, according to its population, it has now no more than one member in the congress.

Ascending still in a notherly direction, we next enter the province of Jujuy, stretching along the whole northern frontier of Salta; and extending westward to the ridges in which are found the sources of the Rio de St. Salvador; thence with its summits as far north as the ridge which surrounds St. Bernardo, and along the mountains of Tacsora; thence descending by the eastern branch of the Rio Tarija to the territory of Salta; embracing a mountainous tract of thirty thousand square miles. The population of Jujuy amounts to twenty-five-thousand inhabitants. Its chief city is St. Salvador de Jujuy, situated on the Rio Grande de Jujuy or de Aquilotes. It has one member in the present congress, which is its full quota of representation, The whole or the greater part of this province is said to be at this time occupied by the enemy.

Turning to the west, and crossing the mountains, is found the province of Chichas, extending along the brow of the great Cordillera of the Andes, which separates it from the desert district of Atacama, and north of the province of Tucuman, as far as the source of the Pilcomayo; thence descending that stream, and passing the ruins of ancient Tarija, and ascending the Rio Toxo, until it intersects the Chicha mountains, forms what is called the province of Chichas extending over a space of twenty six thousand four hundred square miles, and which has a population of ten thousand souls. Its chief town is the city of Tupiza, distant one hundred and eighty miles from the city of Potosi; beside which it contains the city of Catagayta, on the river of the same name which pours itself into the St. Juan

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below the town and great pass of Suipacha, which together unite soon after with the Pilcomayo. This province sends one representative to congress, to which it is entitled, and no more. It is at present under the royal government.

To the north, and adjoining Chichas, lies the far famed Potosi. The vallies of Porco, Paspayo, and Yamparaes compose the present province of Potosi, and the circumjacent ridges of mountains, which overlook those vallies, form its lofty barrier and boundary, which embraces an extent of territory not exceeding twelve thousand square miles. This province contains a population of one hundred and twelve thousand inhabitants; thirty thousand of which are seated in the city of Potosi itself; and the city of La Plata or Chuquisaca is said to be no less populous. This province was attached but a short time to the union. According to some accounts there were four representatives in the congress which assembled at Tucuman in the year 1816. Its population would entitle it to be represented by seven members, but, at this time, it is not represented in congress at all, and has been for some years past entirely under the royal authority.

To the eastward of Potosi, and between the Rio Condorillo which divides it from Cochabamba, and the mountains or Altos de Intinuyo, is the province of Mizque, which is composed of the vallies of Pomabamba, Tomina, and Mizque. It contains a population of fifteen thousand souls; and is nine thousand square miles in extent. Its chief city is Pomabamba. The population of this remote province exactly entitles it to one representative, which it has sent, although it is now subject to the colonial government.

Directly to the west of Mizque, and north of Potosi, lie the vallies of Charcas or Chayanta, and Oruro extending to the principal elevation of the Andes; which compose the province of Charcas, that measures only five thousand square miles, and contains a population of one hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants; thirty thousand of whom are found in the city of Charcas or Chayanta, which is its capital. This province is now, and has been for some time past, under the government of the mother country. But, like some others, as we have seen, from liberality, policy, or intrigue, it has placed or continued three members in the present congress: and yet to be fully represented Charcas ought to have ten representatives.

To the north of Charcas lies the small, but prodigiously fertile territory, formerly called the valley now the province of Cochabamba, at the head of the Rio Grande de la Plata or Guapahi, which pours its waters into the Great Maranon. This province contains a population of one hundred thousand souls, the capital of which is the city of Oropesa; and, yet its extent does not exceed three thousand four hundred square miles. Cochabamba according to its population, ought to have seven representatives. As being now, and having been for some time past, entirely under the royal government, it

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ought not to be represented at all; yet according to some notions, or views, or circumstances, which I do not understand, it has one member in the present congress.

Crossing the ridge of mountains, which bound Cochabamba, on the north, we enter a delightful valley called Cicacica, watered by various small streams, with which the Rio Beni, one of the limbs of the great Amazon begins to form itself. This valley constitutes the province of La Paz, the most notherly and remote one of the union. It is said to contain a population of about sixty thousand inhabitants, and may be estimated at an extent of ten thousand square miles. When represented it will be entitled to four representatives; it is now, however, entirely in possession of the colonial authorities, and has no member in congress.

From the northern boundary of La Paz, leaving the lofty ridges called the Sierras Altissimas, which are almost entirely encircled by the Rio Grande de la Plata, and passing by Santa Cruz de la Sierra la Nueva, or St. Lorenzo el Real de la Frontera to the mouth of the Rio Latirequiqui, thence down the Rio Paraguay to the lowest extremity of the territory of the Abipones a short distance above Santa Fe; thence ascending again by the way of the Laguna de Molaras, and along the eastern boundary of the provinces, whose limits have been just described, to the Altos de Intinuyo, will present a very extensive triangular space of country running in a southerly direction into the United Provinces of South America. This territory is altogether owned and occupied by various tribes of Indians. It is an extensive elevated plain called the Llanos de Manso, watered by various branches of the Paraguay passing through it; but, it is very illy supplied with timber. The tribes of the Llanos de Manso as well as many others, to the northward, were formerly under the pious pupilage of the Jesuit missionaries; but, their pastors having been with drawn, and expelled, they have lost all the genuine notions of civilization that were taught them; if, indeed, they really ever learned any, and are now in situation and habits similar to our neighbors the Osages and Mandans of the river Missouri.

And finally, after passing in an easterly direction over this great triangle of Indian territory, the province of Paraguay, in many respects, the most interesting and important of the union presents itself. It is bounded by the rivers Paraguay and Parana, and the dominions of Brazil. And with an extent of forty three thousand two hundred square miles, it contains a population of about one hundred and ten thousand souls. Its capital is the ancient city of Asumpcion, situated on the left bank of the Paraguay. This province has never been attached to the union: about the your 1810, the government of Buenos Ayres sent an army into it, under the command of general Belgrano, for the purpose of forcing it into the confederacy. The Buenos Ayres forces were compelled to retire. Soon after Paraguay declared itself independent, or some of the chiefs snatched the power from the

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hands of the colonial rulers, and declared war, or a hostile nonintercourse against Buenos Ayres: which is the present state of the relations between them. And not long after Paraguay assumed a similar stand with regard to the provinces of Santa Fe, and the Banda Oriental. Paraguay, therefore, has never, at any time, had a representation in the congress of the union; but, according to its population it would be entitled to send seven members.

This completes the survey I proposed to take of the several political divisions of this extensive union, and of the local situation, the extent, the amount of population, and the relationship of each to the whole.

They having sprang from the same origin, and speaking the same language, having been bred up in the same religious creed, and been governed by the same laws, are of themselves strong foundations whereon to rest a political union. These circumstances operate very powerfully throughout Spanish America; they are among the leading causes which hold together a part of the provinces which I have described; and they produce a disposition in them all to unite; indeed, they seem, at times, to have excited the expression of a hope, that all who speak the Castillian tongue, and worship according to the catholic faith in America, might be formed into one grand confederacy. But the good sympathies arising from these circumstances will be displaced by the experience of profitable advantages; and, the benevolence, that is awakened by the sound of the mother tongue from the lips of the stranger, and his observance of the same forms of divine adoration, will be suppressed or banished by the dictates of self interest, and a regard to those calls and necessities which local circumstances suggest or imperiously demand; and by those habits and customs which the peculiarities of the country insensibly inculcate, and cherish. Therefore, to form an opinion of the nature and strength of those sympathies, interests, and circumstances by which these provinces are now in part united or dissevered, attracted towards, or repelled from each other; and also to render some of the traits in the character of its population more intelligible, and to understand the nature of its commerce, it will be necessary, that we should take a survey of this union, with reference to the physical character of the country; and observe what are the articles produced by its soil, or by the ingenuity and industry of its inhabitants, making no other reference to the provinces than as they may serve to assist in designating the extent of each of those districts, which are naturally and characteristically different from the rest.

Supposing we were to draw a line, beginning on the river Paraguay, near the city of Santa Fe, which should sweep northwardly, so as to include a portion of the province of Cordova; thence bending round below that ridge of the mountains of Cordova, near the foot of which stands the town or village of St. Augustine; and thence passing along a little below the eastern boundary of the province of the

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Punta San Luis, proceeding due south, we should very nearly designate the western limits of one of the most extensive and peculiar plains in the world, which stretches from the shores of the Rio de la Plata toward the southern extremity of our continent, between the line I have described, and the coast of the Atlantic ocean. This is the vast flat, plain, or pasture ground of Buenos Ayres, or as it is most usually and correctly called the Pampas, which word, in the Quecha tongue of Peru, signifies properly a valley.

This Pampa, which forms a part of the territory of Cordova, and of Santa Fe, and all that of Buenos Ayres, if measured entire into the country of the Patagonian tribes extends in length fifteen hundred miles, and in breadth in a direct line, following the southern boundary of the union, five hundred miles from the ocean to its western confines. Over all this immense space there is not a tree, not a shrub, nor a single perennial plant to be seen; save only those few, which here and there lift their heads near a herdsman's hut. There are no hills, nor eminences, and the undulations are so gentle, as only to be perceived by taking a long view over its surface; and then, the eye passes round and round the horizon as over the face of the undulating ocean in a calm, where there is not a single object to delight, or to relieve, or to vary the scene. The keen blasts called the Pamperos sweep over this houseless and unsheltered plain without the least obstruction; and the fierce rays of the sun are felt in all their unmitigated fervour. You are sometimes in sight of thousands of animals; but, they are chiefly horned cattle, and horses, and the deer, ostriches, wild dogs and others fly as you approach. For a while the Pampas present the mind with an agreeable astonishment; but, that soon subsides, and the eye may often be directed in vain in any way to obtain a single glimpse of society. Surrounded by a boundless, silent sameness, one sensibly feels the value of the voice, and variegated scenes of nature. This interminable plain spreads out one of the most expanded and awful solitudes on earth.

I do not know, that any chymical analysis has ever been made of the nature of the qualities of the soil of the Pampas, nor can I say, that the few experiments that have been tried to shade them with a lofty growth, were made with botanical skill; but, they have all hitherto failed. I can only relate what I saw, and what were recounted to me as the trials of husbandmen, and others; who, actuated by a love of gain, or directed by fancy, were anxious to aggrandize themselves, or to decorate their possessions. It is now two hundred and thirty-eight years since the city of Buenos Ayres was founded, and in six miles out from the Plaza Mayor you take leave of all quintas, and gardens, and orchards, and enter upon the great naked plain. The post road from Buenos Ayres to Mendoza, along which I travelled, passes five hundred miles over these Pampas. In all that distance, I saw not a single stone, no gravel, nor any sand, the surface of the earth appeared to be entirely a soft, black, rich soil; on the banks

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of some of the rivers, and in places a reddish clay appeared. The water in almost every well in the city of Buenos Ayres is brackish; that of the wells in the Pampas is generally as bad, and in some places worse. The water of the river Plate, is used for drinking where it can be had. Many of the rivers of the Pampas are brackish, as their names indicate, and there are in these plains many salt lakes; those called the Laguna Brava, one hundred and twenty miles, the Laguna Palantalen, one hundred and forty miles, the Lagunas de Monte, and del Oeste two hundred miles, and the Salinas de Paraguyes two hundred and sixty miles from Buenos Ayres, before the revolution, at one time, employed constantly from three to four hundred carts in carrying salt from them to the city for the supply of the country: and they now furnish a considerable quantity. There is, under the whole of these Pampas, from three to twelve feet and in some places more, below the surface, a stratum of earth of a foot or more in thickness, which appears to be a concreted clay, about as firm as a common brick. This concretion, as it projects along the water's edge of the Rio de la Plata at the city of Buenos Ayres, is called *tosca*, or rough earth. On the margins and beds of most the water courses, this stratum of tosco is visible; and the Rio Arecefe, or the river of the paved bottom, rolls entirely over it, for a great distance. Near the banks of the La Plata, the Paraguay, and their branches, there are a few large trees, and some shrubbery; but most of the lesser streams creep through the plains, as in crooked ditches, without their courses being perceived at any distance, either by trees, shrubs, cliffs, or vallies.

The Pampas are exceedingly productive in grass; and a great proportion of them are beset with a species of thistle, which grows from two to seven feet high, and is not unlike our garden artichoke. The only tree that seems to flourish every where, as a natural free citizen, is the Embudo, or the perennial poke; its trunk, however, is a mere watery pulp and the growth is utterly useless for every thing but shade. The peach grows well; but in our country, it flourishes best on the sea coast, and on the borders of the salt marshes. The olive, and the fig, also thrive; but, they are natives of the dry and saline deserts of Arabia. Except these there are no trees which appear to indicate, that nature made them welcome where they were. There is no tradition, that in all this immense extent of territory, called the Pampas, one single stick of good timber has been ever found growing at the distance of one mile from the rivers. If I might be indulged in adding a conjecture to the facts I have related, I would say, that it seemed to me, that this great plain had been gently lifted just above the level of the ocean, and left with a surface so unbroken and flat, as not yet to have been sufficiently purified of its salt and acrid matter, either by filtration, or washing, as to admit of the growth of any thing more than mere grass and herbage, out of the upper stratum by which it is covered. The Pampas are sometimes afflicted with the most

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wasteful droughts, when vegetation is parched up, the ponds and streams are dried; and the numerous herds of cattle, either die of thirst, or wander away towards the rivers, in pursuit of water and are wholly lost.

The soil of the Pampas produces good wheat, barley, and Indian corn; but the crops frequently fail. The grain of the wheat has the appearance of a very inferior quality; but it makes excellent flour, and is said to be much superior to that of Chile, which looks so much better on comparison. Chacaras, or grain farms, have neither been extended or multiplied since the revolution; and I question whether agriculture be likely soon to increase in this country; while on the one hand, it has to overcome the difficulties incident to the want of timber, and the peculiarities of the soil; and on the other, to resist the temptations to pasturage, to which the country invites so strongly, and to which it is so eminently suited. The staple commodities, of this great district of pasture ground, are derived chiefly from its innumerable herds of cattle. It might furnish any quantity of salted beef; but the present government has thought proper to prohibit the putting it up. Therefore, the only articles which it now furnishes, are hides, tallow, horns, wool, and hair, viscacha, sheep, and wild dog skins. In some years it produces a surplus of wheat; and it has furnished, and still supplies, some salt from its lakes. There are, also, some furs and swan skins, and feathers brought from the Patagonian territory. The ostrich of the Pampas, with the size and speed, and much of the manners, and habits of that of Africa, has not a single feather of his soft, waving, elegance of plumage. The Pampa bird is clad in a very coarse grey garb; which, when plundered from him; except what is suited for bedding, is neither ornamental nor useful. Buenos Ayres is the principal city of this district; and, as the seat of government, the public manufactory of arms has been erected there. The productions of its industry are playing cards, beer, spirits distilled from barley and fruit, cleaned hair and wool, hats, boots, and shoes, tinware, windsor chairs, cabinet manufacture, olive oil, candles, soap, shipbread, and some few others. In the country, the people manufacture some hats, boots, shoes, and coarse woolen cloths.

Taking in the whole of the Banda Oriental, that which may be properly called the Entre Rios; all the residue of Cordova, below the mountains; all of Santiago del Estero; and so much of Tucuman, and of Salta, as are not extended over the mountains, and we shall describe another vast district of the pasture lands, and plains of this Union, the uses of which have been hitherto similar to those of the Pampas; but the nature and capacities of which are very different, and the destines of which may finally, perhaps soon, receive another direction.

The soil of the Banda Oriental is uncommonly productive, and well adapted to all kind of grain; of which, it can easily be made to

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yield a most liberal return. Its surface is very waving; and every where, abundantly irrigated with never failing springs, and streams of the purest water. There are some great spaces destitute of timber; particularly along the coast of the river La Plata, toward the Portuguese settlement of Rio Grande de St. Pedro. Groves of fine timber, more than sufficient for all its necessary probable wants, are, however, scattered over its whole extent; and, its more northern extremity is, for the most part, an entire forest. There has no quality, yet been discovered, in its generous soil, which indicates the least unkindness to any species of vegetable growth. There are no bogs, swamps, or lakes to be found in any part of it; and its climate throughout is remarkably salubrious. In short, buxom nature frolics over this beautiful scene, and with an open hand, bestows every where, health, variety, gaiety, and fecundity. The Banda Oriental has, however, hitherto been applied to no other purpose than pasturage, and the rearing of cattle, mules, and horses.

The country, properly called the Entre Rios, is, in most particulars, similar to the Banda Oriental, it is very fertile, and is furnished with an abundance of timber. There are, however, some extensive plashes in it, such as the Baxada, or low grounds, opposite Rosario, which are dry in summer; and, in the wet seasons, covered with water; the soil, in such places, shoots up a species of reed, or large coarse straw; hence, they are distinguished by the Spanish name Pajanal. It was in one of those Pajanals, then dry, near Santa Fe, in which the Buenos Ayres troops suffered so severe a defeat in April last. Almost the whole of the Entre Rios, like the Banda Oriental, has, hitherto, been employed only as a pasture ground; and, for that purpose, its fertile rincons, or forks of rivers, have been considered as the most valuable estancias, or pasture farms in the country.

The residue of the territory of Cordova, not embraced as Pampa or Mountain; all that of Santiago del Estro, with so much of Tucuman and Salta as lays below the mountains, is, in general, an elevated, dry, sandy plain, destitute of timber, except near the water courses. The Rio Dulce occasionally overflows its banks, and fills large ponds near it, leaving them stagnant, and making the neighborhood very unhealthy. Hence, the addition of Estro to the name of the city of Santiago; for, when the Rio Dulce pours its waters over its banks, forming a great lake in its vicinity, it is then, unfortunately during a sickly season, truly called Santiago of the lake. This vast plain, as well as that of the Pampas, seems destined to eternal pasturage; hitherto, it has been applied to no other purpose. Being at a little distance from the rivers, higher, drier, and more copiously supplied with pure water than the Pampas, it is therefore, better adapted to the rearing of horses, mules and sheep of which there are great herds and flocks on those plains.

The principal internal commerce from Cordova, and this district, prior to the revolution, was its trade in mules, sent over to

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lower Peru and Lima. This traffic, although at present wholly cut off by the war, deserves notice as illustrating the actual state of the country, and the nature of its productions. At two and a half years old the mules were purchased of the breeders, in the Banda Oriental, Entre Rios and round about, and gathered in herds near Cordova, where they were wintered, and remained about six months. Thence, they were taken up to Salta, where they spent a second winter; in which time, they obtained their full growth, and were put in good order for the prodigious journey they had before them. Thus, somewhat gentled, seasoned, and prepared, they were presented for sale in the great mule fair of Salta, which opened in the month of March, where they were sold, at from ten to fifteen dollars a head. The drover having purchased as many as, assisted by his peons or hirelings, he could manage, which was on an average, two or three thousand; he set out on his journey toward Lima; which, taking into account the circuits he would be obliged to make to find pasturage for the drove, may be safely computed at not less than two thousand miles: and, a great part of the way over the crags and defiles of the most rugged and lofty portions of the Cordilleras, among which many of his mules commonly strayed off, and were wholly lost. To reach Lima with two thirds of the numbers with which the journey was commenced from Salta was reckoned a successful voyage. Mules which cost in Salta fifteen dollars, were sold in Lima for twenty-five or thirty dollars. One year with another, there were, in this manner, travelled over from Salta to Peru, from fifty to seventy thousand mules. All the labor and transportation, by beasts of burden in Peru, has been, until lately, performed entirely by mules; and they seem to be the only animals which can be trusted along its precipices, and can labor under its burning sun, or, that are well suited to the climate, and country. This mule trade has now been so long cut off, that the stock of these useful animals in Peru is nearly exhausted, and the conveniencies, and the productions of the country are materially affected by it. The price of a good mule now in Peru, is more than three, or four times what it was in the years before the revolution.

The productions of this extensive district of dry plains, and wooded pasture, which I have just described, are chiefly similar to those of the Pampas; they are, hides, horns, tallow, hair, wool, sheep, and wild dog skins, and some peltry. Indian corn, wheat, barley, and rice, fine potatoes, oranges, figs, grapes, and thence wine, brandy, and raisins, tobacco, timber, and lime. The articles which the ingenuity, and industry of the people of this district produce, for home consumption or domestic exchanges, are hats, tanned leather, coarse cotton, and woollen cloths, candlewick, and ponchos or cloak of the country.

To the southward of the mountains of Cordova, and to the westward of the Pampas, including the whole of the province of the Pun-

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ta San Lenis, and the eastern part of the province of Mendoza, is another district of mere pasturage. It is a high, dry, broken plain; and, perhaps, the most barren and unproductive of any in the union. A great part of it is covered with several kinds of thorny shrubbery, interspersed with which, there are some small timber trees. This district produces hides, tallow, horns, some grain, wine brandy, and dried fruit.

By including a considerable extent of the Entre Rios, round Corrientes, and the whole of the province of Paraguay, we shall designate a district, which, by many, is considered as the fairest portion of this great union; and equal, in its various excellencies, to any tract, of similar extent, in all our continent. Its climate is delightful; possessing all the advantages of that of the torrid zone, without being visited by the fierce rays of its sun, or being enveloped in its pernicious vapors. The face of the country is not mountainous, nor any where flat; it is well supplied by a great variety of streams of pure water. Its soil is, every where, found to be exceedingly fertile and productive; and a rich, and varigated forest originally overshadowed the whole, and now covers a great part. This forest produces mahogany, and several other kinds of beautiful wood, suited to cabinet work; and, furnishes besides an abundance, and variety of timber, excellently adapted to domestic and naval architecture. This may be regarded as more particularly and especially the agricultural district of the union. The state of husbandry in Paraguay, is said, however, to be like that of the other provinces, in a very low and unimproved condition, and conducted in the most rude and unskilful manner. The productions of the country are as various as they might be abundant. The sugar cane grows well; but little sugar is made, its juice is chiefly manufactured into spirits. This district produces Indian corn, wheat, and barley; but, exports little or none. All the European fruit trees flourish and produce well The orange, fig, olive, and vine grow luxuriantly. It produces cotton, flax, hemp, and tobacco; hides, tallow, lion skins, tiger skins, and some peltry. Its inhabitants manufacture hats, shoes, and several kinds of coarse cotton, and wollen cloths for home consumption chiefly; and they make for the markets of the other provinces, tobacco, cigars, and Matte.

Within this district grows that singular vegetable so much in demand, and use over all South America, called Matte, or the Yerba of Paraguay. It is a perennial plant, rather a tree than a shrub; and when full grown, it is about the size of a common apple tree. Every spring when the tree puts forth, as it does very luxuriantly, its succulent boughs to about the length of two or three inches, and when the leaves are about half formed, the young shoots are cut, gathered, and carefully dried; and, when perfectly cured, are put up in sacks, made of raw hide of about one or two hundred pounds weight, and sent abroad, over all the adjoining provinces. The young shoots and leaves of the Matte, it would seem, to have received the name of

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Yerba, rather from the soft, and *herbaceous* state in which they are gathered, than from the character of the plant. The Yerba is used in decoction, like the tea of China; but, instead of making it like that, in a pot, and serving it out in cups, it is made in a little vase, and sucked up through a small tube of about a foot in length, called a bombilla, or little pump, at which each one draws. The Matte is used by all ranks and classes; and is one of those luxuries, which has grown into as inveterate, and necessary a habit, as the use of the tea of China in the United States.

Embracing all the residue of the union, under one view, we find an extensive mountainous district, stretching along below the eastern brow of the Andes, from Mendoza to La Paz, and spreading out over the whole of the province of Jujuy, as low down as the confines of the Llanos de Manso. On all those within this district, I shall bestow the epithet of the *High Provinces*, as lying entirely among the broken, and rugged elevations of the Cordilleras of the Andes; some of them from Jujuy north and west, have been rather vaguely designated, heretofore, by the name of Peru-Alto, from their having formed a part of the empire of the Incas, whose seat was at Cusco, three hundred and seventy miles to the north of La Paz. Throughout the whole of the high provinces, almost every one of the Spanish settlements seems to have been originally attracted to its present seat, by an expectation of the wealth to be derived by the extracting of the precious metals from some mine in its vicinity. Each town and valley, from that of Uspillata, near Mendoza, to those of Chichas, Potosi, and La Paz, has had, or now has some productive mine in its neighborhood. Population has gathered about these subterranean masses of wealth; and agriculture was made necessary for the support of those who came to dig, or to profit by digging for silver and gold. Recourse was had to the neighboring vallies; and the cultivation of their generous soil has, in many respects, been found more profitable and exposed to fewer disappointments than mining. Hence, this great district, first seated as a mining country, has now become rather more of an agricultural one. The mines of Uspillata, and Famatina have ceased to enchant, or to be as productive as formerly; and, the watered and cultivated fields, and vineyards of Mendoza, San Juan, Rioja, Catamarca and many other vallies, have brought such a pleasing, and a comfortable wealth to their owners, that they are, in many respects, perfectly cured of their fanatic love of Plata, and have become as indifferent about searching after it, as their predecessors the original natives.

I directed my inquiries in various ways, for the purpose of ascertaining, with some degree of certainty, what had been, or now was the total amount of the precious metals extracted from the high provinces of the union; but, found it impossible to obtain any data, whence a tolerably fair estimate of their fecundity could be made. Before the revolution, the productions of the mines of Peru Alto

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were in part sent to Lima, in part to the ports of Cobija, and Arica, on the Pacific; but, the greater part was exported from the city of Buenos Ayres, whence, between two and three millions of dollars were sent to Europe annually; but, then a very great proportion of that amount was derived from Chile. Again, the amount sent to Spain from Chile, every year, was about two or three millions of dollars; but, then the whole of that amount, together with what was sent over the Andes, cannot be set down as its own production either; because, a great portion of it was obtained from Lima, Arica, and Cobija, in payment for its wheat; so that, if we were to ascertain the amount of the exports of each of the three vice royalties, of Peru, Chile, and Buenos Ayres, it would be difficult to say how much was properly its own production; because, of their having been so intermingled. Since the revolution, the mines of the high provinces have been very much neglected, owing to the country's having been in so distracted a state, and so much the seat of war. It is said, that within the last year, Buenos Ayres has exported about two millions of dollars, if so, a very small amount has been obtained from the high provinces; because, much the greater production, or nearly all of that amount of its metallic exports, has been in various ways drawn from Chile.

In addition to the precious metals, the high provinces produce copper, tin, lead, and iron; hides, tallow, wool, wheat, corn, and barley; rice and cotton, of which last article Catamarca is uncommonly productive. They produce also wine, brandy, and abundance of dried fruit. It will be proper to observe, however, that this district extends over a part of that singular region of America, where, owing to the elevation and range of the Andes, or to some other causes, the vapours, that are lifted into the sky, are not permitted to fall on it in rain during the summer months; and, consequently, as it does not rain for many months together, the vallies, to be made arable must be irrigated from some neighboring stream of water. Beside the productions of the mines, and the vallies of this district, there is drawn from the heights and obscure retreats of the mountains, a considerable quantity of peltry; of which, Gunaca, Vecuna, and Chinchilla skins, are the chief. The Gunaca wool is equal to merino; and the wool or fur of the Vecuna, seems not only to be capable of being manufactured into the finest cloth; but, hats made of it, rival in lightness and fineness of texture, those made of beaver. The inhabitants of this district of the high provinces, manufacture hats, shoes, tanned leather, and several kinds of cotton and wollen cloths, and ponchos. And in many respects the native Indian mode of manufacturing, as well as the form of the fabric has been retained.

The various routes, and the facilities by which internal exchanges are effected; and the points at which they draw together, and meet the commerce of foreign nations, with much truth, may be considered as the cords by which a nation, or a union is bound together;

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along which, as by so many nerves, each province is made sensible, that it belongs to one whole, and every limb is made to brace itself in the common cause of all. Therefore, to complete the concise review, which I propose to present to you of this union, its several parts, and its productions, I shall exhibit some of its principal paths, and channels of commerce; and the manner, and the places at which its productions are collected for barter among themselves, or gathered together to meet the exchanges of our citizens, and those of other nations. These details may, perhaps, appear to be unnecessarily tedious; but I know not how to compress them; and besides, statistical information consists in mere matters of calculation and interest, in which we look rather to the value, and the utility of the knowledge, than to the beauty of the scene, which it is in the power of the narrator to depict.

I have endeavored to lay before you a fair representation of the peculiarities of the country; and, as may readily be supposed, some of the peculiarities, and the facilities of internal transportation grow out of, or are the natural suggestions of those of the country. The Pampas are, in rainy seasons, very wet and in places there are great Pantanas, or spaces of soft mud; for want of stone, or gravel, or wood, the roads cannot be rendered firm for carriages. There are few places of refreshment or repair, and the distance over them is prodigious. The carriage of burden is, therefore, accommodated to these circumstances. The Tucuman and Mendoza carts, at a little distance, look like thatched cabbins slowly moving over the plain.—The whole machine is destitute of a nail, or a bit of iron; its great coarse wheels are not less than eight feet in diameter; six oxen, in general noble strong animals, move it. The two front pair have a great length of cord by which they draw; and the load of the cart, which, on an average is not less than four thousand weight, is pretty nearly balanced on the axletree; the body of the cart is either covered with raw hide, or thatch, made of reeds or straw; and, with a collection of brushwood, as fuel, tied on the top, and brought from the westward of the Pampas, these carts are seen crossing the plains in caravans of from thirty to forty together. On the journey, the oxen are unyoked, occasionally through the day, and at night, and permitted to seek their food round about. Thus, without any other provision than what is necessary for himself, the carrier pursues his way over a waste of thirty days or six weeks passage. There are, in Buenos Ayres and Mendoza, a number of owners of these carts; and, the several common carriers of Tucuman keep about two hundred of them, constantly employed in the trade of that city. From Buenos Ayres to Mendoza the distance is nine hundred miles; and the fare is from one hundred and forty to two hundred dollars, the cart load downwards; but, to the westward, the fare is only about forty dollars the load. The route is performed in about thirty days. From Buenos Ayres to Cordova, the distance is four hundred and fifty miles, the fare per cart load, is twenty-five dollars, and the journey

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is performed in about sixteen or eighteen days. It is nine hundred miles from Buenos Ayres to Tucuman; and the fare per load, according to seasons, is about one hundred and fifty dollars. From Buenos Ayres to Jujuy, the distance is twelve hundred miles, and it is the utmost extent to which the roads are practicable for wheel carriages; the fare is not less than two hundred dollars the cart load.

Mules are used for transportation in every direction over land, as well where carts can, as where they cannot travel. But, they are most commonly employed to traverse the mountains, and to bring down to Buenos Ayres the productions of the high provinces. San Juan is only one hundred and eighty miles to the north of Mendoza; and, along the valley, parallel to the Andes, there is a good cart road from one to the other; but, the direct road from San Juan to Buenos Ayres is no more than nine hundred miles; but, it is only practicable for mules. In general, in the high provinces, there are no roads which are at all passable for carriages. A mule load, according to the custom of the country, is four hundred pounds weight, for which the fare between San Juan and Buenos Ayres is ten dollars; and the route is usually performed in thirty days. From Buenos Ayres to Cordova the fare is seven dollars, and so in proportion further, or in other directions. From Jujuy, whence the transportation can only be effected, in any westwardly or northwardly direction on mules, the distance to La Paz, the most remote city of the union, is about seven hundred miles; and the fare is thirty-five dollars the mule load. The carriers, who make a business of transportation by mules, have from fifty to one hundred of these animals in a drove, the greater number of which are loaded when on a journey; and, whatever may be the route they pursue, they carry no provisions with them, nor purchase any by the way, for these beasts of burthen. Either on the plains, or in the mountains, the patient, hardy animal, relieved of his pack, is turned loose at night to gather his food, and take his rest; and, in the morning the load is replaced, and he is driven on, very commonly, the whole day without stopping.

The mail leaves Buenos Ayres, for the north west, four times in the month. The whole distance to La Paz is little short of nineteen hundred miles; and the mail usually reaches that city from Buenos Ayres in forty days. It is said, that individuals by the usual mode of taking relays of hired post horses, and pressing forward, have gone the whole route to La Paz in twenty days; and, that extraordinary expresses have gone through in twelve days from Buenos Ayres.

These are the principal paths of the commercial intercourse of the union over land; the channels of communication by water, that have been accessible to foreigners, or which have been at all used by the inhabitants, are only those of the Rio de la Plata and its tributary streams. If we should measure directly across the mouth of this great river, from the Portuguese dominions to the line I have designated as the boundary of the Patagonian territory, we shall find a

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length of not more than about three hundred and seventy miles of coast on the Atlantic, belonging to the union; but, if, as seems to be most correct, the river Plate be considered merely as a great arm of the sea, and its shore be taken into the account, then the union will be found to have an extent of between five and six hundred miles of coast The Rio de la Plata is said, by navigators, to have many dangerous singularities, and materially to differ from every other known river of the world. No vessel drawing more than eighteen feet water can pass up to Buenos Ayres; and, all navigators are cautioned to beware of its singularly changeful currents, and the destructive blasts, called Pamperos, which occasionally sweep over its surface. There are no fish of passage, which, at any season, frequent this estuary; and, therefore, there can be no fishery any where in it, for the purposes of profitable commerce; except, indeed, the seals that might be taken on the Islands of Flores, and Lobos near its mouth. The Rio de la Plata commences from Cape St. Maria on the north, and Cape St. Antonio on the South; thence, it gradually narrows until it reaches Buenos Ayres, where it is about forty miles broad; and it terminates by a round end just above the small Island of Martin Garcia, which is said to command the mouths of all the rivers which unite a little to the northwest of it, and pour their waters into the La Plata. At present this island is uninhabited, and seems to be considered as of little other importance, than as a convenient place to procure paving stones for the city of Buenos Ayres.

On the shore of the Banda Oriental, just within Cape St. Maria, is the port of Maldonado; the harbor is chiefly formed by the small island of Gorette, there are six or seven fathoms water within it; but, it is not of easy access except for small vessels; those drawing eighteen feet, or more must enter by a crooked channel to the westward of the Island. Next above Maldonado, on the same side, is Montevideo: it is a tolerably good harbor for such vessels as can enter; but, it has not more than fourteen feet of water within the cove. The Ensenada de St. Lucia, above Montevideo, has about eighteen feet water at its mouth; but, furnishes no harbor. The Rio Las Conchas, whose mouth is in the territory of Buenos Ayres, just below the Paraguay, is entered by vessels of ten or twelve feet draft of water, and for such it affords a good harbor. The city of Buenos Ayres is itself situated on a long straight reach of the coast of the La Plata, and the vessels, trading or belonging there, lie out, from two to seven and eight miles, from the shore in a bleak unsheltered roadstead. The Ensenado de Barragan, or the mouth of the creek of Barragan, below Buenos Ayres affords a harbor for vessels of about twelve feet draft of water. Except these, the only security for any vessel, any where within the Rio de la Plata, is her ground tackle.

Passing the island of Martin Garcia, and ascending the Uruguay, on tide, by a broad and bold navigation fifty-four miles, the beautiful Rio Negro presents itself, entering from the eastward; this

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limpid stream, whose waters, collected from the pasture ground and groves, beset with sarsaparilla, of the Banda Oriental, are pleasant to the taste, and said to be for many cases medicinal, is navigable for all vessels that can pass over the bar in the La Plata, as far as Capilla Nueva about forty miles from its mouth: where the capital of the country, now called Purification, has not long since been fixed. This river hides its head in the Cerro de Lascano nearly three hundred miles farther up, and is said to be navigable for boats some distance above Purification.

Returning to follow up the Uruguay, it is found to afford an easy uninterrupted navigation as far as St. Antonio, or Salta Chico, more than two hundred miles above its mouth, to which place the government of Buenos Ayres, in the year 1810, sent several launches of many tons burden, laden with provisions, and munitions of war for its army then stationed there; and, I have understood that it is navigable to Capilla St. Pero an hundred miles still further up; thence the stream is uncommonly rapid for more than three hundred miles to where it receives the Rio Pepry from the West, and its right bank forms the boundary of Brazil; thence about fifty miles further, it is met by the Rio Vermelho from the east; and, from thence to its source in the Sierra de St. Catherina, opposite the Island of St. Catherines on the coast, a distance of about two hundred and fifty miles, it passes wholly within the Portuguese dominions. The general course of this river is nearly northeast and its whole length, travelling with its course, may be estimated from its source to its mouth, at little short of one thousand miles.

Immediately opposite to the island of Martin Garcia, within a space of about forty miles, the great river Paraguay pours its mighty collection of waters into the Rio de la Plata through seven mouths; of which the Brazo de la Tinta, on the left, enters the Uruguay from the west, and the Bocha de las Palmas on the right enters the La Plata, on a line with its western coast, just above the Rio de Lujan; but the chief opening, and that which is most usually navigated, is the Boca del Guante, which presents itself directly to the west of Martin Garcia. Any vessels, which can cross the three fathom bank in the La Plata below Buenos Ayres, may ascend the Paraguay with ease and safety to Santa Fe, three hundred miles to the westward of Buenos Ayres; which, with a fair wind, may be reached in ten or twelve days; indeed, it is said, that such sized vessels may ascend as high as Corrientes. In ascending the Paraguay, from the mouth, you pursue a northwest course about two hundred miles to Rosario, a town on the right bank; thence, north one hundred miles to Santa Fe; which is also situated on its right bank, and just above its confluence with the Rio Salado; thence bending away nearly northeast, and ascending about four hundred and fifty miles further up, and twenty miles below the mouth of the Parana, you arrive at the city of the Corrientes, situated on its left bank. Pursuing the same course, about two

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hundred miles still further up, you arrive at the ancient city of Assumpcion, once the capital of the whole country, now that of the province of Paraguay only. Thence, following a course more northwardly, after ascending about one hundred and fifty miles further up, you reach the Brazil line at the Rio Ipane, which enters from the east, at the mouth of which is situated the village of Nueva Sta. de Belem. Thence rising along the stream, in a direction nearly north, and having the Portuguese dominions on the right, for a distance of three hundred miles, you meet with the Rio Latirequiqui, entering from the west, near the end of the Cordillera de St. Fernando; which elevated range of mountains, forming the boundary of Brazil, the river becomes wholly the right of the Portuguese. Thence pursuing the same course, for a distance of three hundred miles further, through the great morass of the Xareyes, you find the marco, or marble pyramid, erected as a boundary in 1754, near the mouth of the Rio Jouru; by ascending which, some distance, the traders of the country, carry their boats over a portage of four thousand eight hundred yards, into the Guapore; by descending which, to the Madera, and thence downward, they reach the mighty Maranon. About three hundred miles further up, you find the sources of the Paraguay in the Prisidios dos Diamantos; so called from its being said to have the richest diamond mines in all Brazil, perhaps in the world. So that the Paraguay, in the whole, extends itself, in a northwardly direction, nearly two thousand miles; about fifteen hundred of which, afford good boat navigation, and between six and seven hundred is said to be practicable for sea vessels.

The principal branch of the Paraguay is the Parana; and on entering it, you ascend in an east direction, about two hundred and thirty miles, to La Candelaria; thence, ascending north east one hundred and fifty miles, to the point at which it receives the Rio Ipane from the east, which is the boundary of Brazil; thence, with those dominions to the east, pursuing the same course, one hundred and thirty miles further up, and you arrive at the Salta Grande, or great waterfall, which interrupts the further navigation of this stream, at the lower end of the Ilha Grande, and near the end of the Cordillera Alto de Maracayu, which is the Brazillian boundary on the right bank of the river. From this, the Parana ascends in a north east direction into the Portuguese dominions, about four hundred miles; where it is divided into two branches, one, the Rio Grande, which turning to the eastward, and extending about four hundred miles further, is lost in the great mountains about one hundred and fifty miles to the north of Rio Janeiro. The other branch called the Parana-iva, after stretching due north about three hundred and fifty miles, reaches its source in the lofty ridges of the Sierra de Marcella.

Of those rivers, which enter the Paraguay from the west, there are only three, which, as far as I can learn, merit particular atten-

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tion. The Rio del Pasage, after collecting the waters from the valley of Calchioqui, and traversing the greater portion of the province of Salta, unites with the Rio Tala, and forms the Rio Salado; which, after winding its way in a south east direction, through the plains of Tucuman, Santiago, and Cordova, and travelling a distauce of about four hundred miles, throughout the whole of which, it is said, to afford boat navigation, slants into the Paraguay at Santa Fe. The river Vermejo, after receiving the waters of the vallies of Tarija, and Rosario, descends to the western margin of the Llanos de Manso, along which it moves past the territories of Jujuy, and Salta, then turning to the eastward it crosses those great plains, and enters the Paraguay about fifty miles above the mouth of the Parana; travelling a distance, from the town of Tarija, of more than seven hundred miles; and, about midway of its course, receives the Rio Jujuy, after it has pursued a route of about two hundred miles in length from the city of Jujuy. In the year 1790, colonel Cornejo, in a boat of several tons burden, did actually ascend the Rio Vermejo as far as the town of Tarija, without meeting any material obstructions from cataracts or ripples. The river Suipacha, after receiving the waters of the St. Juan, from the salt Pampas at the foot of the principal Cordillera of the Andes to the north, and those of the Rio del Oro, which are precipitated from the same lofty eminences to the south, in the province of Chichas, and passing the crags, and wilds, and fertile vallies which it meets in a course of three hundred miles, finds itself associated with the branch called the Pilcomayu or Paspayo, which has traversed a similar country, for a distance of three hundred miles from the foot of the mountain of the famed silver mine of Potosi; thence, moving on their joint waters, they meet with the Rio Cachimayo, after it has descended from the mountains of Charcas, and passed the city of La Plata or Chuquisaca, at one hundred and fifty miles above; with which river. they unite to form the Pilcomayo, properly so called, near the eastern end of the fertile valley of Ingre, in which the warlike Chiriguanes Indians have twenty-six villages. From which, the Pilcomayo entering directly into the Llanos de Manso, and crossing them in a southeasterly direction, passing great numbers of the habitations of the savages who dwell in those plains, pours its waters into the Paraguay by two mouths, forty miles below the city of Assumpcion. How far this river is practicable for boats of any size, I have not been able to learn; but, I am induced to believe, from the description of the plains through which it passes, that it must be navigable a great part of the way.

These are the principal paths, and channels by land and water, and this is the manner, in which the greater part of the productions of this extensive union, are transported from one province to another, or by which, those suited for a foreign market find their way to the city of Buenos Ayres; for, the new government allows of no other port, either for exportation or importation. One of the conse-

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quences of independence and union to our country, was, that its commerce, as well internal as external, almost immediately left many of its former colonial courses, and sought others; directing itself to points, and along ways adapted to the natural advantages of the country, and the best interests of the people. Hence, the decline of some of our colonial towns, and the very rapid growth of some of our cities. A similar consequence, to a much greater extent, might have been expected to have arisen from the revolution of the Spanish colonies on the river Plate; but, none such has yet taken place. On the contrary, those noble rivers which nature seems to have poured through their country as immense conveniences, advantages, and benefits, have been, to them, the waters of bitterness and discord. An attempt was made to export and import from, and to Santa Fe; which was so great an advantage to all the country west and north of it, that much traffic began to flow that way. Buenos Ayres forbid it. And this is one of the grounds of the controversy between Santa Fe, and Buenos Ayres. The people of the union are contending for independence, that they may, among their other rights and liberties, establish the freedom of commerce, so that its courses may de directed solely, and exclusively by convenience, profit, and advantage. If commerce be dragged away from courses so chosen, it is a monoply; and, although it may not, in some respects, be as pernicious as that of Cadiz, it is a monoply. One of the consequences of the present strife, to Buenos Ayres is, that it can procure not a single stick of that necessary article, timber, with which the banks of the rivers beyond the La Plata abound; but, is supplied from Cordova by its carts; or timber is brought from Brazil, or the United States, in which cases it is admitted free of duty, and is said to yield a good profit; such are the present high prices of timber in this new country.

The aggregate amount of the imports of Buenes Ayres, within the last two or three years, has been estimated at about eight millions per annum: of this amount about one half consists of British manufactures, and productions of one kind or other; and the rest is made up, principally of French, German and India goods of various descriptions, and a small proportion of the manufactures and productions of the United States. The principal of our commodities which have found their way to advantage to Buenos Ayres, seems to be cordage, pitch, tar, salt fish, furniture, windsor and rush bottom chairs, rice, butter, spermaceti candles, porter, ale, cider, gin, peach brandy, writing paper, plank and some other articles that I may have omitted.—But, latterly our trade thither has been very limited, and has constituted rather in carrying the goods of European and Indian continents for the purpose of procuring the few articles we want from them, than its being a market for our own productions of any sort.

The exports of Buenos Ayres, for some years past, have been, it is said, on the decline. During the last year they have been thus estimated; it has exported one million of hides of all descriptions,

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which, valued, on an average, at three dollars each, makes three millions of dollars; it is computed to have made up three millions more of the following articles, tallow, horns, horse hair, jerked beef, copper, tin, lead, chinchilla skins, nutria, lion, tiger, wild dog, seal, swan, viscacha, and sheep skins; sheeps vecuna, and guanaca wool, and feathers, with some few others of less value, or that are produced in smaller quantities. And the balance consisting of two millions, it is said, has been made up by specie derived from the mines of the high provinces, and from Chili, in return for the foreign manufactures sent thither by the way of Mendoza, and in payment for its Matte; and by various other ways and means.

The Spanish settlers in America have, every where, discovered a disposition to group themselves themselves together in towns and cities. It is rare to meet a country gentleman rsident on his estate; or to find a wealthy land owner, who has not a house in the city, which is his usual place of abode; from which his chacaras and estancias, that is his grain and grazing farms, committed to the care of peasants or slaves, are occasionally visited. The reason of this mode of life, it is said, arises from the inertia of the Spanish habits. The owner commits the care of his estates to his slaves, or makes them grazing farms, which require little attention, that he may lounge away his time in a city, with every convenience about him, and enjoy those long intervals of repose of which a Spaniard is so fond. But, the modern Egyptian, and the modern Greek, whose countries were once the busy hives of industry, and the lands of enterprize and science, are as inert and as fond of repose as the modern Spaniard; may we not then suppose the causes of this love of repose to have been the same in all? The hebetating, political and ecclesiastical institutions whose impressions have been, with fire and sword, and faggot, cut and branded upon them all. But, whatever may have been the cause, such is the fact, that the more wealthy, intelligent, and better sort of people are universally found in the cities and the towns. The best and fairest sample of the population of the union, it is said, is to be found in the city of Buenos Ayres; and, there are some circumstances which render the assertion not improbable. That city almost ever since its foundation has been a seat of government, and the emporium of all the foreign commerce of the country; the people have had much intercourse with foreign nations; and, of late years, particularly, they have had the means of information poured in upon them: and, they have, from every account, profited by it very much. They are, in general, very intelligent, and very unanimous in their determination to support their independence, and to establish their freedom. The lower classes have been materially benefited by the change, and they are perfectly sensible of the happy results. With very few shades of difference, however, the population of the great cities, and principal towns of Buenos Ayres, Montevideo, Mendoza, Santa Fe, Cordova, Salta, Tucuman, Jujuy, Corrientes, Assumpcion, Potosi,

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Chuquisaca, &c. are all alike, as to intelligence and general information. In the cities are found the great body of the leading, and influential citizens of the union, and their numbers are by no means inconsiderable, who have given an impulse to public opinion, and have kept, and will keep the ball of the revolution in motion until the great end be accomplished of independence, and substantial freedom.

The herdsmen, or peasantry of the Pampas and plains, form a very considerable proportion of the population of the country. Thinly strewed over the great pastures, those residing at a distance from the cities, have, most commonly, each one the charge of an estancia, many leagues in extent; they have little society, are totally illiterate, lead an indolent life and dwell on an immense waste, in continual solitude. Their habitations are constructed in the simplest form; in general, they consist of low mudwalls, thatched with the long grass of the plains, tied on a lair of reeds with raw hide thongs, or stuck on with mud. In the Pampas a few peach trees stand round about; but, the Embudo, one single one, and no more, seems to be the herdsman's favorite shade, and designation of his dwelling. The bedding and clothing of the family, and the whole household furniture exhibits a scene of laziness and dirt; yet, mingled with apparent cheerfulness, great kindness, much natural intelligence, and an evident independence of character.

From infancy the Herdsman is taught to ride, and there are, perhaps, no more expert horsemen in the world; much riding is required by his situation and mode of life; and to ride well is his pleasure and his pride. Either from the custom of his Spanish ancestors, or from its real and constant utility, the heardsman is never without a long butcher's knife worn about his waist. His cloak is that gay, party colored covering, formerly used by the natives, which seems to have been universally adapted to his taste and convenience, The Indians and the herdsman's cloak, or Poncho, as it is called, is a square piece of cloth, something larger than a dutch blanket, with a slit in the middle through which the head is put, leaving it to hang down all round. This Poncho is his bed at night, and by day his cloak, a belt, a saddle cover, or a bag, as fancy or necessity may require. It would seem as if similar circumstances, every where made similar suggestions. Within that region of the globe, designated as central Asia, there are immense steps or plains not materially different from those traversed by the La Plata and its rivers. And it is said the Asiatic herdsman of those plains, like him of America, has, from the most remote ages, always used as a utensil, or weapon, the Lazo, or running noose, either to manage his herd or to attack his foe. The Lazo, is a cord or thong made of strong well prepared hide, about thirty yards long, with an iron ring, or a loop at one end, through which a running noose, or Lazo, may be made in an instant; the other end is fastened to the cincho or broad surcingle, which secures the saddle. The Lazo, hung in a coil to the hinder part of the saddle, is, thus ready for use. So soon as it is thrown and

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takes effect, the horse, as he has been taught, stands firm, or moves off with what has been caught. The Lazo is thrown by a herdsman with unerring aim; either on foot, or on horse back, or at full speed; at a fleeing animal or retreating foe. The herdsman of the plains is usually provided with another instrument similar in its use to the Lazo. The Bolas is an instrument made with three cords of about three feet each from the knot which unites them in the middle; to the end of each of which is fastened a ball of about two pounds weight. The Bolas, with a few twirls over the head, is thrown like a stone from a sling; and entangling about the legs of the animal, at which it is directed, instantly prostrates it at the mercy of the pursuer. And, whether thrown standing or at full speed the herdsman's Bolas seldom fly in vain. This instrument, like the Lazo, is usually slung to the hinder part of the saddle. Mounted, and thus equipped, the herdsman is ready for a journey of a thousand miles, the protection or the seizing of his herd, or for the defence of his country.

The European armies, that have been landed on the shores of the river Plate, have found the Lazo and the Bolas to be weapons of war of a new, surprising, and singular cast. Their outposts often silently disappeared, they knew not how; a dragoon, when at a sufficient distance, apparantly, to be out of danger from his enemy, would have his horse suddenly thrown from under him, or in an instant, he himself would be snatched from his seat, and dragged to death. The European forces saw the plains covered with cattle; but, none of the wild herd could be taken; their chase and fire frightened them beyond their reach. The nakedness of the country was thus perceived to be its chief fastness, and security to its inhabitants and their herds, against foreign invaders. The wars that have been waged in that country, particularly on the Banda Oriental, have made the herdsmen of those plains as expert in the use of a gun on horseback, as of a Lazo or the Bolas; all of which they now carry in their warlike excursions; and, they may be considered as the most formidable Guerrilla, or partizan soldiery that ever existed. In courage, they are inferior to none; and, the exploits, that are related of their adroit, and rapid horsemanship, exceed what has been told of the Parthian, the Scythian, or the Cossac of the Don. Such, are the herdsmen of the Pampas and plains, who are usually called Gauchos; an epithet like that of Yankee, originally cast on them in derision; but one which has now ripened into a distinctive and common appellation, that is no longer offensive. The most active and efficient portion of the Buenos Ayres army of Peru, under Belgrano, is the Guerrilla party of Gauchos commanded by colonel Guemes.

The peasantry of the high provinces are, a great majority of them, agriculturalists, with the addition of the laborers in the mines. This class of the population of the union, is not materially dissimilar from the like class, as it is described to exist, under all arbitrary governments. They are wholly illiterate, are superstitious, and indolent; but from the thinness of the population and abundance of the

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necessaries of life, this class has not been so pressed upon, and is, therefore, not so sordid and boorish as is in some other countries; they are cheerful, docile, active; and extremely susceptible, and desirous of improvement.

Of those three classes of population it must be observed, that each has evidently been mingled and discolored with Indian blood. The city class, least of any; but, the Gauchos are a third, or a half of Indian descent; and, the husbandmen, of some of the cultivated vallies of the high provinces, have the appearance of being little else than the civilized descendants of the aborigines.

There were at the commencement of the revolution, a considerable number of slaves in the union, of the Indian or African race. But slavery has been abolished. The Negroes have, generally, been transferred from domestic slavery to the ranks of the army, into which, about four thousand have been enlisted; the half of which were sent to Chile, where their numbers have been reduced nearly half. Some were sent to carry on the war against Artigas, and have been much cut up; and the residue are quartered in the city of Buenos Ayres, where they are believed to make good soldiers. They are used as guards about the directorial palace, the hall of congress, and the city.

The people of Paraguay, have traits of character differing alike from the citizen, the Gaucho, and the husbandman of the high provinces. The district of Paraguay was taken into the possession of the Spaniards from the natives, at as early a period, almost, as any portion of the vice royalty; it has a greater population, in proportion to its extent of territory, than most of the other provinces. Paraguay long had the peculiar care of the Jesuits, and has had all the benefits of their spiritual instructions. It is at once a fair sample of their skill at civilization, and of the effects of their system; the fundamental maxim of which was, to exclude all strangers. The present race of Paraguays are said to be a mixture of the European Spaniards, and natives; with, perhaps, more than half Indian. They are remarkably peaceful, and taciturn in their temper and deportment. They are more industrious than the people of the other provinces, prodigiously attached to their country, or rather the place of their nativity; yield a passive obedience to the powers that be; and are much averse to strangers, to changes and new modes of every sort. They are excessively clannish; when they have heretofore visited Buenos Ayres, for the purpose of trade, it has been always remarked, that wherever the leader of the squad dealt, there all would deal, and no where else. It is rare to meet a Paraguay, who cannot read and write, and who does not understand the rudiments of arithmetic. Yet, they make no other use of this precious acquisition than to read some few homilies, and to make notes and keep accounts of their little dealings. They never apply it to the acquisition of any useful knowledge whatever. Their literature is merely elementary, and made less use of

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than the hieroglyphics of their progenitors of Peru. Their stern religion, or more rigid habits seem to forbid them to stray from the precepts inculcated in their youth, with so alluring, so wanton, and so erratic a guide as modern philosophy; lest a perverse doubt, like an artful and suspected stranger, should seduce them from the good old ways of their ancestors. The Paraguays are, generally, healthy robuct men, very abstemious and sober; the great body of them are agriculturists; and, their delightful country, alike suited to the growth of the productions of the temperate and the torrid zones, supplies them with every necessary and a variety of the luxuries of life. They manufacture much within themselves; get scarcely any thing from abroad; and have little intercourse with the rest of the world. It is a question, which future experience must solve, whether the gay and docile; but illiterate husbandman of the Andes, or the Paraguay agriculturalist with his smattering of letters, and his Jesuit habits, shall rise most rapidly from the obscurity of his colonial condition, and profit most by the revolutionary changes now in progress.

This country, and these people whose extent, situation, and character, I have endeavoured clearly, concisely, and fairly to delineate, were governed by the Spanish power, with the coarse machine of monarchy; and according to its few and simple principles. The first magistrate of Buenos Ayres was the vice roy; who was appointed by the king of Spain; and, this vice roy governed all, overruled all, and commanded all, civil and military; but, the king his master. The members of the supreme tribunal of justice, called the royal audience, were also appointed by the king. And all the other officers of the government were appointed by the vice roy or the king; or sold by him, responsible to him alone, and removable only at his pleasure.

Whenever the population of a district of country encreased to such a number as to require it, or it was otherwise thought worthy of the honor, it was laid off into what was called a province, or jurisdiction, and a governor appointed over it; and if the population was increased and condensed into a town, or its inhabitants had influence with the vice roy, or the vice roy thought a spot suitable for a town, it was laid out as such, and declared to be a city; and a tribunal called a cabildo was organized for the regulation of its police, and the administration of justice within it, and a certain district round. This ayuntamiento, cabildo, or corporation, was composed of from six to twelve members, called regidors, according to the size of the city. The governor of the province was ex officio, president of the cabildo, with power to control or overrule its ordinances or decisions, in like manner as the vice roy could those of the royal audience, whenever he chose to take his seat, and act as president. The office of regidor, like most others in the Spanish government, was venal; the price paid for it, in Chile, was about five hundred dollars; and I have reason to believe, that in Buenos Ayres it was valued at about

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the same; it was held for life. Besides those to be had in the market, there were generally four other regidors, residents of the city, who were appointed by the vice roy. The alguazils, or sheriffs, and bailiffs, of this tribunal were venal, bought and sold at a given price, like any other merchantable commodity of the Spanish dominions. It is of these jurisdictions, the present provinces of the union have been constituted; and the cabildos thus organized, and which were continued by traffic, and the chief magistrate of the union, for the time being, until the present form of government was adopted, are the sources with little variation; whence sprang the existing congress.

Besides these, there were appointed in districts, too extensive for justice to be conveniently administered by the governor or the cabildo, village or country alcaldes, or territorial justices. The jurisdiction of these officers, however, extended only to petty matters, or the apprehension of offenders; they were a sort of justices of the peace. In addition to these, there was in the city of Buenos Ayres, and Montevideo, a tribunal called the consulado, invested with jurisdiction in commercial affairs only; from which there might be an appeal to the viceroy. These were the civil tribunals, into which the colonist entered, with his purse in one hand, and his documents in the other, to seek protection and right; to ask for justice, and to obtain redress against the wrong doer.

The right of patronage, to all ecclesiastical benefices, belonged exclusively to the king; but, it is said, there are a few unimportant livings in Buenos Ayres in the gift of individuals. All ecclesiastical affairs were cognizable only before the spiritual courts, of which, each bishop had one, composed of the bishop himself, the fiscal, proctor or lawyer, and the provisor. These tribunals also were subject to the control of the vice roy.

But, there was one tribunal, which bore sway over all; and, that was, the tribunal of the holy inquisition, which had the power to fine, confiscate, imprison, hang, or burn for the offence, of which the accused was convicted by it. The two vice royalties of Buenos Ayres, and Chile, were subject to the jurisdiction of the holy inquisition of Lima; which tribunal appointed its commissioners in those two vice royalties who furnished it with information, had its process executed, and the accused sent forward for examination, trial, and suffering.

There was no tribunal, nor any officer of any description whatever, emanating from the people, or appointed by them, or responsible to them, either directly or indirectly in any manner. There was not in the whole country one single popular meeting allowed of, except at church for worship; or any such thing known as a legal, and standing congregation of men gathered from the people, for any purpose whatever. Of all the various, formal, and informal means, of which the people of our country have at different times availed themselves, to make an expression of their collected and united voices, not one of

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them, or any thing of the sort, ever appears to have been known in Buenos Ayres, before the revolution. The people of that country appeared to have been governed with so total a disregard to their will, or with so watchful a determination that their voice should not be heard in any way, that they seemed to be strangers to the methods by which it may be collected and expressed to advantage, or not to have estimated them as they ought. The viceroy with a suitable number of military coadjutors and underlings, took charge of the person and property; and the holy inquisition by its commissaries, had the curacy of the mind of the humble colonist; which independent, irresponsible, and holy officers of the royal power could only be rendered merciful, or flexible, or just, by the secret, but potent operations of tangible gold. The sword of the military and the faggot of the church, thus executed the will of the monarch; no one dared resist; complaint was never heard; the colonist submitted in silence; suffered, and groaned inwardly.

The Spanish colonial government of Buenos Ayres was of a character calculated to blight every hope of freedom, and make men passive and calm. Hence, the people of those provinces did not begin their revolution in opposition to the oppressions of the mother country. They were not excited, like those of the United States, first to make head against the arbitrary attempts of the parent state, to claim their privileges, to declare their independence, and to resume a government, which had been abused by their transatlantic rulers. It was not until, by the great agitations of Europe, that the gripe of the colonial power was loosened; until after the hand of the monarch had been by those struggles, for a time, taken off, that the colonists began to think and feel as men; not until after the people, on the shores of the La Plata, had been visited by a portion of the wars, and the blaze of those political conflicts of Europe; that they were aroused, and excited to seek, and to endeavour to obtain, and defend their own long lost rights.

The British goverment, for a long time past, appear to have had a very strong disposition to obtain a station, or plant a colony on the shores of the La Plata So early as the year 1740, the project was proposed, and the subject discussed; at the peace of Paris of 1763, the subject was renewed; and the value of such an acquisition much urged. In the latter end of the year 1805, the expedition under sir Home Popham made a formal attack, with a view to obtain possession of Buenos Ayres; but, was driven back. And the disgraceful and unfortunate expedition under general Whitelock in the year 1807, appears to have quieted British notions of adding to their transmarine possessions in that quarter. At present, the British are pursuing with avidity a free, peaceful, and lucrative commerce, where, by their repeated wishes and attacks, they have failed in establishing conquest and monopoly. These attacks of the English gave the first shock to the colonial establishmens of Buenos Ayres.

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In the month of July, in the year 1807, a French government vessel arrived in the river Plate with the intelligence, that the old dynasty of the mother country had been pushed from the throne, and Joseph Bonaparte declared king in the place of a Bourbon. Liniers, the then vice roy of Buenos Ayres, wished to recognize the new king, and induce the people to acquiesce in the change. This, notwithstanding all their sufferings under the Bourbon line, they refused to do, drove Liniers from power, and declared their adhesion to the old dynasty, and to what, they conceived, to be the cause of their country. In this state of things Cisneros came out from Spain, commissioned by the junta of Cadiz, as vice roy, and assumed the reins of government. Thus the old order of things, after having received a rude shock from the English, was thrown entirely into confusion. The British, and other foreign traders, finding the old opposition removed or paralyzed, poured into the country; and the people, during these agitations and changes, began to perceive, and to feel, that a free commerce brought with it considerable advantages; that there were many abuses to reform; and that there was, in fact, no power in Spain which could be said to represent the Bourbon king, to whom they still were determined to adhere, notwithstanding all they had experienced, and suffered.

In consequence of these agitations, to advise for the best, and restore harmony, a junta was convened in Buenos Ayres, composed of some of the principal persons of that city, and their cabildo. And on the 25th May, 1810, this junta determined to take the government into their own hands, until a junta could be called and convened, composed of representatives from the other provinces, into whose hands it should then be committed, until Spain should so far recover from its misfortunes, as to be able to do justice to itself, and to redress the evils in the administrations of its colonies. Accordingly, Cisneros was stripped of all power, and permitted to depart in peace for Europe. This day is called the commencement of the revolution; and, it is now noted among the fiestas civicas of the country as the day on which "The people of the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata were, by a singular providence, delivered from the slavery which the Americans had suffered for three hundred years." As the day of "The political regeneration of those provinces, by the free use of the rights of man, of which they had been despotically deprived by the Spaniards since the conquest of both Americas." There was still a hope, or an expectation, however, that harmony and a union of some sort might, some day, be restored between them and the mother country, compatible with their freedom, and self government. Which freedom, from that day became the ardent wish, and determination of all good men to endeavour to obtain.

With this resolution, to establish a free government of their own;

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if possible, constantly present and operating on the minds of a great and increasing majority of the people, the cause has been pushed forward, with improving experience, and brightening lights, amidst intrigues, and factions, and superstition, and angry passions, from a beginning where even rudiments were to be collected, along a curious, crooked, and wavering line to the present point; at which the people have finally resolved on independence, and totally renounced all prospect of returning to their allegiance to Spain. This declaration of independence was made by the congress at Tucuman, on the ninth day of July in the year 1816. And in the fiestas civicas of the country it stands noted as, the declaration of their *absolute* independence, "De la declaracion de nuestra absoluta Independencia." At this point the people now are, where they seem to be much more disposed, calmly to investigate, to learn, and impartially to decide, than their present rulers are willing to indulge the freedom of their speculations. I shall barely sketch out the path of this revolution, from point to point so far; leaving the causes, by which it has been impelled, and the obstacles by which it has been checked, to be more fully collected, and understood, from the history of the times, except so much as may be immediately necessary for the elucidation of the present state of things.

After Cisneros was displaced from the vice royalty, in the year 1810, and compelled, with some of his adherents, natives of Spain, to embark for Europe, a junta of seven was formed, and a general congress was called. The cabildos of the provinces, favorable to the cause of self government, appointed deputies, who assembled in Buenos Ayres, in the month of March of the following year. And after a deal of altercation, were admitted as members of the junta provisional of whom the historian Dean Funes from Cordova was one. A person named Saavedra, by intriguing with the sturdy, and free spirited Gauchos of the pampas of Buenos Ayres, obtained their countenance and aid, by which means, on the 6th April of the same year, he effected a change in the organization of the ruling power, and another set of men were placed at the helm. Which change is distinguished by the name of Saavedra's revolution. On the ninth October following, this ruling party was suppressed, many of its members imprisoned, or banished, and a new one formed, and placed at the head of affairs, called the triumvirate. The first triumvirs were, Chicklana, Dr. Pasos and Sarate, with Rividavia as secretary, all of Buenos Ayres. This triumvirate gave a new impulse to political movements, and caused great changes in the opinions of the people; "instead of following the public opinion for the independence, and liberty of the people, it took the opinion of parties, who sought to govern according to the interest of each faction." Hence, jealousies, suspicions, fears, and rivalships were then sown, which have continued to rankle, and grow from that to this; and are not likely soon to

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be eradicated. One of them Saratea, was sent to take the command of the patriot army at Montevideo, in the Banda Oriental, and had not been there long, before he, and Jose Artigas, who now commands that portion of the Gaucho population, quarreled. Artigas, being apprized, in time, of an attempt, that was to be made on his person, fled to the plains, was soon followed by all the Orientals, and has been at war with Buenos Ayres, except at short intervals, ever since. Rividavia filled the seat of Saratea from the 10th of March, 1812, or thereabouts until the 25th of May, when Puerrydon the present director, arrived from the army in the high provinces as his successor, when Rividavia resumed his station as secretary, until the month of July following, when, owing to some misunderstanding among the rival chiefs, Chicklana was expelled with disgrace, and Rividavia reinstated as a triumvir. This Rividavia is said to be a man of talents. He is now in France, and his object in visiting Europe, is said to have been, to ascertain the feelings of the monarchs of the old world, toward the provinces of the new, which were struggling for independence; to see if the combined potentates could be propitiated by concessions or otherwise, to mercy and forbearance; whether the angry principles by which they had been united, would induce them to make an effort of their strength on this side the Atlantic against the rising principles of réform; or whether they would be governed and divided by a rational view of their interests, as regards the regions of the new world.

On the 9th October, of the same year, 1812, the Moreno faction overturned the triumvirate, and seized on the reins of government. The Dr. Moreno who headed this faction was a man of a very fine and highly cultivated understanding; he died soon after, on his passage to England. The chiefs of this party were Larea, Laetelle, Pena, Asquinaga, Vieytes and Posados, who effected the revolution by the assistance of Jose San Martin, now the commander in chief of the united army of the Andes in Chile, and Charles Alviar, who were then the colonel, and lieutenant colonel of a regiment of cavalry stationed in Buenos Ayres. Major Zapiola, and captain Isarsabel of this regiment, being ordered by its commander to seize or destroy Pueyrredon, then a triumvir, now the director, they repaired to his house and searched for him with naked weapons; and, it is said, he narrowly avoided assassination and effected his escape in disguise; and was finally saved by remaining some time concealed. Of this party, Pena, Paso and Jonte, were declared to be the ruling junta, of which Pena was president. He was, after some time, displaced and succeeded by Rondeau, who continued in office until the month of —; when he went to take command of the army in the Banda Oriental. On representing the inconveniences attending an executive junta composed of three members, to the congress; that body formed a single executive, and Posados was elected by it, as director, in December, 1813, and continued one year in office. When lieut. col. Charles

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Alviar was elected by the congress to succeed him. This Alviar was a man of a bold, unbridled temper, and disposition; he had been appointed by the congress to the army of Peru: but being rejected by the inferior officers, was obliged to relinquish that command, and return. In Buenos Ayres, he quietly entered upon the duties to which he was elected; the people, however, were from time to time, much provoked, by his highly offensive and arbitrary conduct; until, at length, roused past all forbearance by the barbarous murder of Uvieda, a worthy citizen, on Easter Sunday night in prison, they flew to arms, and put the city in a state of defence. The director threatened to force his way in, at the point of the bayonet; but, was given to understand that his army would not obey him; and he then surrendered under a guarantee of being permitted to embark, on board a British ship, then laying in the roads: and, with the greatest difficulty made his way, alone and unattended, past an exasperated people, who pursued him to the boat on the shore, which the British commander sent to receive him. This man is now in Rio Janeiro, where he has taken refuge.

A junta of the people of the city of Buenos Ayres, was then summoned by sound of the cabildo, bell; which town meeting, or junta, after some warm debates, elected as director, colonel Ignacio Alvares, acting commander in chief of the troops who had been faithful to the people, in opposition to Alviar. And about the same time, the congress passed an act, called the Statute Provincial, by which various restrictions were laid down to prevent abuses in the exercise of the directorial authority. The clamors of the people against Alvares, charging him with arbitrary proceedings, mismanagement, and peculation in office, caused him to resign his power on the day of the expiration of the term for which he was elected. And in April, 1815, Antonio Balcarce, now brigadier general in the united army of the Andes in Chile, was elected; and, after continuing in office about three months, was forced from his post by intrigue and faction. An executive, or government of three, was then again formed, composed of Francisco Escalada, Irregoyen; and —

During all these various changes and revolutions, there has existed a body called the representatives, or deputies from the several provinces. The members of this assemblage, were chosen or appointed by the cabildos of the principal cities, which had joined in the revolution; and it is said, that there were instances and times when they were chosen by something like a popular election; the traces of such elections, are, however, very faint and obscure, such as, perhaps, would not be deemed popular by the people of the United States, where the substance and outline of such elections, are distinctly recollected by the very boys of the country. It does not appear, that the members of this representative body, were elected for any given time, or that the cabildos, by whom they were chosen, were at all jealous of their length of service. Some of them have

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been members several years, some are newly elected, and others represent provinces in the possession of the enemy; who, therefore, can neither be rejected, recalled, or re-elected by the provinces they represent. Nor does it appear, that they were tenacious of the numbers sent from each province, or that they have been always the same. Buenos Ayres had only four, Mendoza two, and San Juan had two members in the congress which met at Tucuman, in 1816. Now, Buenos Ayres has seven members, and Mendoza and St. Juan, only one member each: And yet, the members vote in congress numerically, and not by provinces. Nor does it appear, that any stipulated, personal, or local qualification has been required. About half the body are priests; and the citizens of Buenos Ayres seem to be deemed eligible, and suitable to represent any province; in consequence of which, the church, and that city, have always had their full influence. The body it would seem, had changed its name almost as often as its component numbers and individuals; at first, it was called the junta; then the junta provisional; then, the national constituent assembly; and now, it is styled the sovereign congress. Its deliberations appear to be conducted with religious solemnity, and much debate; the yeas and nays are most generally recorded: yet the body is guarded by soldiery, usually negroes, deemed perfectly trustworthy; and there is neither frequent elections, nor a free press, to call them to an account. Of all the passions and gales of the revolution, whose violence has broke in so many directions, this body has been struck by none. It seems to have glided on, preserving the even tenor of its way, and to have happily retained the buoyancy of its nature, amidst every angry burst and threatening squall. Fortunately for itself, this august body, has never undertaken to call any state dilinquent to account, nor in any instance run counter to the will of the chief magistrate for the time being. If the congresses of Venezuela, Mexico, and Chile, by a factious, headstrong disposition, (as has been solemnly said,) have repeatedly lost those countries to the Patriot cause, no such restiveness of temper can be imputed to the congress of Buenos Ayres; on the contrary, it has, at times, so highly respected the opinions of the people, as to yield a little to a gaucho intrigue, or a town meeting, convened by the sound of a cabildo bell.

Some of the acts of Congress, have, however, been of vital importance to the best interests of the cause, and the union. On the ninth of July, 1816, it made and promulgated a declaration of *absolute* independence. And thus it cast the die. The minds of the people were thus brought solemnly up, and finally fixed at that great point; about which there had previously been some wavering. And in December, 1817, its ordinance, called the reglamento provisorio, was ratified, establishing a temporary government for the union, in which is defined the forms of two popular elections; one of which, that of electing cabildos, has since, with great ease and success, been reduced to actual practice. The form of electing members of con-

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gress is also prescribed; but no time of election, or term of service being specified, there has been no use made of the terms laid down. There have been two popular elections of cabildos in Buenos Ayres; the first was made in 1816, when only about five hundred votes were taken; but when the same election came round, and was made according to the provisions of the reglamento provisorio in the year following, there were as many as three thousand five hundred votes given for the same officers. This is the first form of a popular election ever offered to the people of Spanish America. And, although confined to mere police, or corporation offices, it is of great importance in its direct and indirect consequences. It is a beginning which must draw after it, more valuable and efficient elections, and the whole representative system. And, the great increase of votes is a proof of the readiness, with which, the nature and uses of the rights of franchise can be understood and adopted by any people.

The congress, which on the 24th March, 1816, had assembled in the city of Tucuman, elected Juan Martin Pueyredon, supreme director of the state, after which, it made the solemn declaration of absolute independence, and then founded the present temporary government called the reglamento provisiorio, (annexed and marked as exhibit G*) and Pueyredon has continued in office as supreme director from that time to this. By the sixth article of the first chapter of the third section of this provisional government it is declared, that the person filling the station of supreme director shall continue in office until a constitution is formed, unless sooner displaced by congress. The only check upon this loose and indefinite grant of executive power and influence, to control congress, and postpone the formation of a constitution, is that of a *residencia*, designated in the ninth article of the last chapter. As this mode of responsibility by a *residencia* is an adoption of that, by which it was intended, under the colonial system, a governor or vice roy might be called to an account; and as it is wholly unlike any of the forms by which, the responsibility of a public agent is secured by any of our political institutions, it may be well concisely to describe it. According to the Spanish laws of the Indies, when a vice roy, or governor was removed from office, the king appointed an agent or commissioner, most commonly a lawyer of the country, to recive the *residence* of the displaced officer; such commissioner accordingly repaired to the capital, and announced in the most public manner, the time and place when and where he would be prepared to hear and determine on any complaint, that might be made against the late officer, by any person, of whatever order or class, as well Indians as others. This scrutiny could only continue, in the case of a governor for sixty days, and of a vice roy only six months after the date of the proclamation of its commencement; and no cause of complaint, however grievous, could be heard or inquired in-

* G This exhibit has been communicated among the papers annexed to the Reports of Messrs. Rodney and Graham.

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to which was not made known by the commissioner of the residencia within the appointed time. This sort of impeachment of an officer after the extinction of his functions, is not unlike the sage old Egyptian process of bringing the dead to justice. It may accord with Spanish colonial notions of calling a public functionary to account, but I should suppose it would be deemed widely different from what we should call republican responsibility.

Before the revolution, there was a printing press in Buenos Ayres, whence issued a weekly newspaper, merely for the purpose of printing and publishing sundry papers and documents for the convenience of the vice roy, and under his sanction entirely. The profits of this press, for it yielded some, were given to an institution in the city of Buenos Ayres, called the Ninos Expositos; or Foundling Hospital; hence the press obtained that name. This press is still continued, and the ministerial paper, called the Buenos Ayres Gazette, issues from it weekly. There are, in all, three printing presses in Buenos Ayres, and from one, or the other of them, there are published four newspapers weekly. Besides these there is a small weekly newspaper printed in Tucuman. From the second chapter of the seventh section of the reglamento provisorio, one would be induced to infer, that there existed something like a freedom of the press; but nothing would be more fallacious than such an inference. The press has never been tolerated with a single day of genuine and manly freedom in Buenos Ayres. Nothing is published but what is flattering to the powers that be; nor is any thing inserted in the papers, from abroad, without being curtailed or remodelled to suit the taste of the ruling party. A few attempts have been made, to discuss political subjects with severity, and to censure the political conduct of some men, the consequence of which has been, that, without ceremony, the parties have been instantly banished or imprisoned. The press of Buenos Ayres is a servile instrument, which neither has, nor merits any respect or influence whatever. Public opinion receives its direction, and gives its impulse, not through that prostituted instrument of much good; but, from books and papers read in the closet, and from verbal conversation, and private discussions. And, in that manner, it has acted so efficiently as to turn a chief magistrate from his fort, or to chase a wicked director into exile, at the very moment when this cowardly or crippled sentinel, was going the rounds and crying out all was well.

Laying aside the abstract principles contained in the reglamento provisorio, which speak for themselves, and the value of which depend on the accuracy with which they are expressed, the currency with which they are received, and the facility with which they can be applied and enforced, it appears, that the Spanish code of laws, so far as it is compatible with the changes that have been made, has been adopted. This code, I take it for granted, like that of all others of the civilized nations of Europe, which have been gradually formed

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from that of ancient Rome, is, in the main, and in a moral point of view, a rational and excellent system. But, as to all the modes and forms of administration, which give to a code the pure practical operation, which its principles breathe, and which are generally understood to constitute the leading, if not sole distinctions between free and arbitrary institutions, the reglamento provisorio presents us with a beggarly account of provisions; with large exceptions, which do so allay the good precedent; and articles so pared away, that there is left no bold promontory in all its coasts, behind which, the storm-chased innocent skiff can take shelter from any of the gales of power. Except the case of the elections of the cabildos, the whole is, substantially, a mere reorganization of the colonial vice royalty. It is regarded as such in practice; and, therefore, has obtained little, or none of the real respect and confidence of the people.

But, the sentiments and wishes of the people, as in all similar circumstances, have had considerable sway over this newly created government. There is a point beyond which it dares not go; and a limit, as the numerous changes that have taken place, clearly show, beyond which the forbearance of the people cannot be stretched. As the revolution has progressed, more information has been obtained; the people begin to have a correct knowledge of their rights; they are becoming more watchful, and their rulers more respectful. And, as the bounds of information are extended, the field of discussion enlarges, and the political horizon gradually clears, and expands in all directions. The past changes and struggles, would seem, at first view, to have been a fruitless waste of time and labour; it has not been so; the people have been instructed and improved by them. Public opinion, the pioneer and precursor of all revolutions and beneficial institutions, has been ripening; and, the crisis is rapidly approaching, when another and a firmer step will be taken, assisted by the newly acquired lights and helps. More of the old system will be removed, and such institutions will be introduced, as will furnish some practical evidence at home, of the benefits of civil and political freedom; and the work of the revolution will approach its consummation. This crisis will be considerably accelerated by the present state of the provinces, their murmurings and civil wars, to pacify which, and for their own welfare and safety, it has obviously become necessary to make an entire change, and to introduce a new order of things. The voice of the people must and will be heard.

On inquiring for the causes of these unfortunate differences and hostilities among the several patriot causes; and, after removing from about them all that mere vituperation, and angry invective, with which they have been too much mingled and confused; they will be found to be of vital importance; to have for their object principles materially affecting the good of the people, and to have originated in very rational views as to a frame of government best suited to their country, and which was most likely to promote, and secure its general, as well as its particular interests. The people of this part of Span-

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ish America, have, from the commencement of their struggles, looked towards the example and the precepts of the United States, in the management of their revolution, and the organization of their political institutions Without, in general, entering into any profound arguments or deep speculations, for which, from their precious education and habits, they were utterly unprepared, they took a view of their own situation, en mass; they saw themselves by the removal of the colonial institutions, almost at a single blow, divested of every implement of civil government. They looked over the immense extent of their country, and saw, that it had been cut up into provinces and jurisdictions, and in that manner governed. They then turned their eyes towards the United States, and saw, or thought they saw, many analogies, and a prosperity, which evinced, that all they beheld was worth copying. But, whether these suggestions were made from such a comparative view, or from the nature of things, or from whatever other cause, the idea, and utility of separate state governments in each province, like those of the United States, with magistrates selected by its own people from among themselves, became very general, and was warmly embraced by a great portion of the patriots. This party, however, in favor of the system of confederation and representation, whatever might be its numerical strength, or the force of its reasonings, were, as they now are, by much the weakest in point of actual power and operation; because, they had not the means, nor have ever been allowed to exhibit any examples of their principles; and besides, they were obliged to address themselves to a people, to whom the entire field of politics was a novelty; and they had no press to give stability and currency to their arguments. In opposition to those principles, and this party, there arose a faction in Buenos Ayres, who looking attentively to the interests, and the aggrandizement of that city, wished to establish a consolidated government under a chief magistrate invested with powers, analogous to those of the late vice roy; but, somewhat bridled and controled, with a revival of the political and civil institutions of the colony, so modified as to suit the existing state of things. And, the general impression of the necessity of being constantly armed and prepared to meet the hostilities of the metropolis, induced the people to yield a ready obedience to their military leaders for the time being. Hence, to get the command of the army, and take possession of the fort in Buenos Ayres, has hitherto, been the same thing as a complete revolution. It has at once placed in the hands of such a chief, the revenues; because Buenos Ayres has been the sole point of collecting all the customs; all the forces; and the entire command of the state, the affairs of which could be wielded and managed at pleasure by such a chief magistrate, according to the forms of the colonial institutions. While on the other hand, the opposing popular party, which advocated state governments, and the representative system, never have, as yet, had any forms, or means by which they could gather together, and

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express their wishes, or even make a show of their numbers and power.

In October, 1812, while Saratea commanded in chief at Montevideo, and Artigas, before the same place, commanded the forces of the Banda Oriental, this great principle, of separate state or provincial governments, interwoven, as it very probably was, with personal and local considerations, gave rise to a heated controversy between them. Saratea, finding Artigas to be refractory, and unmanageable by temptations, threats, or persuasions, determined to have him arrested. Artigas being apprized of this design, fled to the plains, and in a short time all the Orientals followed; in consequence of which, the further prosecution of the siege of Montevideo, at that time, was abandoned. The ruling party of Buenos Ayres, perceiving the popularity of the cause of Artigas, and his power, became extremely anxious to win him over, or at least to conciliate him. At the request of Artigas, therefore, who then thought, or affected to believe, that his controversy with Saratea, was merely personal, Saratea and some others were removed from the command of the army, and his place was filled by Rondeau, and other officers put in command, whose principles being unknown, were, therefore, not so obnoxious to the Oriental chief. But at the same time, Artigas followed up the controversy, and tested the designs of the government of Buenos Ayres, by demanding in form, that the Banda Oriental should be considered and treated as a state, under its own government, and as such, should be left to regulate its own concerns for itself, and be represented in due form and proportion in a general congress. This was treated by Buenos Ayres, as an open dereliction of the standard of the country; and a most unreasonable, criminal, and declared rebellion against the only legitimate government of the union of all the provinces, which, as it contended, extended over the whole territory that had been subject to the late vice royalty; of which, the city of Buenos Ayres, always had been, of right was then, and always ought to be, the capital, whence, alone all authority should emanate. This, Artigas opposed, and denounced as the assertion of a spirit of unjust, and unreasonable domination, on the part of Buenos Ayres, to which he could not, nor would not submit. The parties were heated, reason was silenced, liberality banished, and they repaired from the field of argument to the field of battle. Artigas, either from an indisposition to push matters to the greatest extremity, from policy, or from a sense of his own inferiority in point of strength, has hitherto acted on the defensive, and confined himself within the territory of the Banda Oriental, or of the Entre Rios, since it has taken sides with his cause. It is said, that, in this controversy, there have already been fought fifteen or sixteen sharp battles, in each of which conflicts Buenos Ayres has been defeated and suffered severely. In the last, which was fought about the first of April last, near Santa Fe, on the north eastern side of the Paraguay, there were, of the Buenos Ayres army, which was about nineteen hundred strong, eight hundred left dead

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on the field of battle, and the rest dispersed, so that the whole army may be said to have been extinguished at a blow. This fatal catastrophe, was heard in silent gloom at Buenos Ayres; not a syllable about it was uttered from the press; yet all seemed to lament the policy, by which it had been brought about, or rendered unavoidable.

Until the year 1814, the province of Santa Fe, or the district of country called Entre Rios, had a representative in the congress of Buenos Ayres, since that time it has withdrawn itself from the union, and sided with Artigas, and the people of the Banda Oriental. This change, and desertion of the standard of the country is charged, by the government of Buenos Ayres, to the intrigues and seductive principles of Artigas. But, if Artigas has been practicing his arts with the people of Santa Fe, the acts of Buenos Ayres have most powerfully seconded his designs. By adverting to the situation of the population of the union; and the various paths of internal commerce through it, by land and by water; it will be seen how very advantageously Santa Fe is situated as a port of entry, and great depot for all the country to the west, and north of it. As such it had opened itself; and commerce began to flow into it, when Buenos Ayres interposed, and declared, that no trade should go to Santa Fe, but what passed through the city of Buenos Ayres itself. This odious and unjust monopoly was at once revolting to the minds of the people of Entre Rios, and a proof of the correctness of the principles contended for by Artigas; they, therefore, abandoned Buenos Ayres, and are now the allies of Artigas.

In the year 1810, the government of Buenos Ayres sent a force of five hundred men, under the command of general Belgrano, up to the province of Paraguay, to expel the royal authorities, and to introduce that province under the government of the union. But the people of Paraguay rejected the proffered Buenos Ayres auxiliaries. After some time, however, they of themselves, expelled the Spanish authorities; and refusing to submit either to a Spanish, or a patriot vice roy, or chief planted in any way at Buenos Ayres, they attempted to establish a government of their own; and, from thence forward, until the present time, they have absolutely renounced and forbid all intercourse or trade with Buenos Ayres. No active holtilities appear, however, to have been carried on, as yet, between these two provinces.

The government of the people of the Banda Oriental and Entre Rios, since their alliance, has been altogether in the hands of Artigas, who rules by his will alone, like an absolute monarch, without attendant guards, or an Indian Casique. No frame of constitution is exhibited; none is pretended to exist. Justice is rendered voluntarily, or is administered according to the mandate of the chief.

In Paraguay the reins of government are held, by Francias, who, it is said, makes a show of administering all political and civil affairs in the manner, and according to the forms of the consular government of ancient Rome.

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The two pvwerful provinces of Cordova and Santiago del Estero have both been in rebellion against the ruling power of Buenos Ayres, which has charged Cordova, with being a very godo, or tory province, and both of them with being seduced into an unnatural desertion of the cause of liberty, by the arts and intrigues of Artigas. But, Cordova has lost by the revolution, its very profitable mule trade, the nature of which I have described; and both have suffered heavy contributions; and, all their resources have been made tributary to the Buenos Ayres monopoly, and to sustain its pre-eminence. They have both been brought back by force of arms under the union, and are now silent and passive. In short, it cannot, nor ought it to be concealed, that the ruling party of Buenos Ayres has managed the affairs of the union in such a strain of domineering monopoly, as to retard reform, delay the progress of the revolution, and to render the most patriotic provinces extremely dissatisfied. Mendoza occasionally murmurs, and San Juan is very much discontented with the present state of affairs; and the people of those two provinces, heretofore most attached to the union, begin to speak openly, and in sharp terms of the domineering, monopolizing temper, and conduct of Buenos Ayres.

Of the one million and eighty thousand souls, which the late vice royalty of Buenos Ayres has been estimated to contain; it will be seen by the details I have furnished, that four hundred and eighty three thousand, including Jujuy, are all that acknowledge themselves subject to the present government of Buenos Ayres; that the patriot provinces at war with Buenos Ayres, contain a population (exclusive of Indians) of one hundred and eighty thousand souls; and that so many of the high provinces, in which there have been any revolutionary movements, as contain four hundred and seventeen thousand souls are at this time, and have, some of them, been continually under the colonial yoke. The patriot provinces of Salta and Jujuy, have been the chief seat of war, from the commencement of the revolution. The royal army was once in possession of Salta, which is now the head quarters of the patriot forces under Belgrano. And the patriot army were once so successful, as to penetrate as far towards Lima, as the city of Chayanta, in the province of Charchas; but, they gave back from thence, and the Spanish army is now, it is said in the possession of the city Jujuy.

Such is the extent, nature, and circumstances of this new and revolutionary union. The present bonds which hold it together are temporary in name and more so in their nature. A final declaration of independence has been made, the people have renounced all expectation of a compromise with Spain; and the separation has been resolved on amidst such embittering severities and cruelties, that any kind of return to their former allegiance is utterly impossible, and impracticable. The expectation of reconquest is no less vain; and to be convinced of it; it is only necessary to view the country, and reflect a

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few moments on its nature, and the situation and character of its inhabitants.

But, what is to be the future course of this revolution, is a question more difficult to determine. One thing, however, appears clear, that unless the present civil dissentions are healed, and the warring provinces are pacified, and reconciled with each other, a very great proportion, if not all the benefits and advantages of the revolution, which would accrue immediately, as well to themselves as to foreign nations, will be totally destroyed, or at least very much diminished and delayed. The great benefit which they are continually promising themselves from it, is the introduction of the representative system of government, with all its kindly and fostering institutions. But their military chiefs will not suffer the system to have a commencement; to be planted at all, or to have a single undisturbed day to take root. For, the petty cabildo elections are proofs of the wishes of the people, and their disappointments. The chiefs (one and all) allege, that during the effervesence of a revolution, popular elections are dangerous; that submission to a strong and energetic power is necessary in such times. And under this plea, of the distractions and necessities of the times, they all alike refuse to permit the people to make a single experiment of a general, genuine popular election. Artigas, situated as he is, driven first in one direction, and then in another, on one side attacked by the Portuguese, on another by the patriots of Buenos Ayres, and watching lest in another direction, an unexpected blow might reach him from Spain, has all the population of the Banda Oriental thus pressed under an unqualified submission to his will; and, he is thus furnished with a plausible pretext for ruling over all, as arbitrarily as an Indian Casique. The rulers of Buenos Ayres talk to the people under them, of the infinite dangers to be apprehended from Spain, on all hands; and of the indispensable necessity of keeping up a strong army next Peru; of raising forces to invade, reconquer, and now to hold Chile; of the threats and wrongs of Portugal; of the indispensable necessity of having Artigas, and the rest of their wicked subjects, and the rebellious provinces completely subdued; and of the great importance of preserving the capital, the city of Buenos Ayres itself, in perfect security by the presence of a strong military force. The military chief of Paraguay finds, or frames similar arguments in favor of an energetic government. And the people have been so far baffled, and not trusted with the means of expressing their will, or of exercising their power. Nothing is easier, than to make a fine partizan soldier of a Gaucho; those of the plains of the Banda Oriental under Artigas; and those of Salta, under Guemes, are proofs how readily those peaceful herdsmen can be made terrible in war; the yare a class of people, who have a predisposition to an unrestrained roving life. To lead them to independence, therefore, an enterprising, spirited leader was all that was necessary. And if the Gauchos of the Pampas, shall, like those of the Banda Oriental, find a bold leader who shall inspire them with a resolution to insist on having their

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voice heard through their lawful representatives, the city of Buenos Ayres itself may then soon be, what Montevideo now is; a place where commerce once was. The peace and commerce of Buenos Ayres have a happy and continually improving effect upon the neighboring inhabitants of the Pampas. With such an example, how misguided, how cruel was the policy which converted the city of Santa Fe from a new and flourishing seat of commerce, exciting industry, diffusing information, the arts of peace, and innumerable benefits all around, into the strong hold of bands of hardy and warlike Gauchos. The evils of these distractions, and civil wars, as regards the fruits, productions, and resources of the country are obvious. It is acknowledged, that they have not merely prevented the increase of husbandry; but, have diminished its amount; many fine Chacaras, or grain farms, have been totally neglected or destroyed. And the stocks of cattle, which furnish the great staple commodities of all the plains, have been every where very much diminished.

These are some of the effects of these pernicious conflicts; criminations, and recriminations of leaders, and are fruitless, or only serve to irritate, and make matters more incurable. As regards the rights of self government, certainly, that which is sound justice, and solid argument in Buenos Ayres against Spain, is equally sound and solid in the Banda Oriental, and in Paraguay; if any one has the right to throw off the yoke, and to assume to itself its own government, all have the same right. The rights of all of them are then, perfectly equal; and no one province can, in justice, have the privilege of ruling over any other of them without its consent. To restore peace and harmony to these contending provinces, would be to bestow on them the greatest imaginable benefit; by removing the most imposing and plausible pretexts for all internal guards and military forces; the soldiery must be sent, where they ought to be, to meet the foreign enemy on the frontier, which is the only foe in arms the people ought to have to contend with. The chiefs, being thus deprived of the source of their arbitrary power, the effect would be at once, to give the people their liberties, and to restore to their country all its abundance, its resources, and its blessings. But, without this, to attempt to give to any one of the provinces, a preponderancy over the rest, would be to confirm, or to drive the people of every province, into an unqualified submission to the military chief of each division of the country; and it would be to lend a helping hand to settle the country down under the government of a number of petty kings or princes, instead of a confederated republic. The British government, and its authorities, with a continually wakeful regard to their commercial interests, have endeavored to pursue the incongruous, and difficult policy of thwarting and confounding the republican principles of the people, and, at the same time, of discountenancing the inveterate hostility of the chiefs of the provinces, so wasteful of the commercial productions of the country. The English admiral, Bowles, concluded a treaty of agreement with gene-

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ral Artigas, regulating the British commercial intercourse with the people whom he controuls; and an English consul, resident in Buenos Ayres, with a ship of war always near, without promoting the establishment of free institutions any where, insures an unrestrained trade with all the warring provinces.

Although by the treaty of St. Ildefonso, of 1777, between Spain and Portugal, the limits which separate Brazil from the Spanish dominions were finally settled; and, therefore, as it would seem, on the score of right, the king of Portugal cannot have the least pretension whatever to the Banda Oriental, or indeed to any portion of the territory of the late vice royalty of Buenos Ayres; yet, that monarch has invaded the Banda Oriental, claiming to hold it by right of conquest, or on some other ground, I know not what, as a part of Brazil; and a Portuguese army, under the command of general Lecor, is now in the actual occupation of the city of Montevideo, and about three or four miles around it. The government of Buenos Ayres, and the king of Portugal are now at peace, and apparently a perfectly friendly intercourse is carried on between Buenos Ayres and Montevideo. While, on the other hand, there exists at this time, and has always been waged, the most inveterate hostility between Artigas and the Portuguese. It would appear, that Artigas and his Gauchos, are bravely defending their homes, their rights, and their country; that the king of Portugal, availing himself of the weakness and distractions of the affairs of his kinsman Ferdinand the Seventh, intended to aggrandize himself by annexing a portion of his provinces to Brazil. And, that Buenos Ayres, desirous of preserving the lucrative commerce of the river unembarrassed, had either actually compromised with Portugal, or was willing to look with solemn dignity upon that, which it felt too feeble to resist or resent; or that it was at present so much exasperated at the enemy against whose edifice the blow of Portugal is aimed, as to refuse to ward it off, even although it may, by its striking effectually, itself be seriously wounded by the scattering fragments.

The revenue of the government of Buenos Ayres, has been extremely fluctuating, owing to the very unsettled state of its political affairs. During the early period of the revolution, it was said to have amounted to between three and four millions of dollars per annum; at present, it does not amount to fully two millions. In the first years of the revolution, confiscation of the property of godos, and impresitos, or forced loans, levied off the disaffected, poured considerable sums into the treasury. These sources of revenue are now exhausted, or have ceased. A great source of revenue is the tithes, which are all paid into the treasury, except the salaries of the canons, two thousand dollars per annum each, and a small deduction which goes to the support of the clergy generally; who with that allowance from the tithes, their first fruits, alms, &c. and the proceeds of their own property are very well supported. It may be

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estimated, that the clergy of the several provinces amount to one-seventeenth part of the whole population. But monkish institutions are rapidly falling into disrepute, and the people have every prospect of being soon relieved from their influence and their burden. The product of the tithes depends very much upon the state of husbandry. And agriculture having declined, this source of revenue, has also been diminished. The other branches of revenue, derived from internal taxation, are the alcavala, licences to retailers, and such like indirect taxes. But the principal source of revenue to the government of Buenos Ayres is that derived from the customs, or its duties on imports and exports. The changes that have already begun and are likely to continue, and encrease, will account for the diminution of its revenue in this principal branch also. Under the vice royalty, Buenos Ayres and Montevideo, were the only ports of entry and collection of the customs for the whole country; but, in consequence of the wars and devastations about Montevideo, commerce was driven entirely up the river, and passed exclusively through Buenos Ayres; since then, the Banda Oriental, and Entre Rios have declared themselves independent and unconnected, and having made a commercial regulation with the British admiral, much of the trade, which used formerly to fill the coffers of Buenos Ayres, is now beginning to find its way direct to the opposite side of the river. And the trade of Paraguay having been for some time closed against Buenos Ayres, is also taking that direction. A considerable part of the foreign goods, particularly British, which paid a duty at Buenos Ayres, were sent into many places and provinces beyond its immediate jurisdiction. A large amount was sent over the Andes from Mendoza into Chile, or into the high provinces to the north westward. Since the opening of the ports of Chile, this route of transportation must be too expensive to continue; and, consequently, the revenue thus derived to Buenos Ayres must cease. Some of these causes are permanent, and others will continue to operate until harmony among the provinces shall be restored, and the establishment of peace, order, and freedom shall give that security to person and property, which is the only true mode of encouraging all profitable pursuits, of husbandry and pasturage, as well as all others.

The government of Buenos Ayres has an outstanding public debt of about one million of dollars. This debt has been chiefly created by an issue of, what are called boletas, or due bills, given in discharge of salaries due from the state to its military and civil officers. The government, finding the revenue fall short, ordered one half only of all salaries to be paid in cash, and the other half to be paid in this scrip called boletas, which is redeemable indefinitely and at pleasure. In April last, boletas were as much as fifty and sixty per cent. below par. Notwithstanding this economical measure of issuing boletas, the government not still being able to meet the various demands on it, as they were made, has, therefore, from time to time issued its notes, or bills payable on demand, as funds should

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accrue in the treasury. These notes are called government cash paper; there is no great amount of it afloat, and it is said to be equal, to what we should call good mercantile paper at ninety days.

The military force of Buenos Ayres, as estimated by intelligent persons of that city, according to the representations current there amount in the whole, to thirteen thousand infantry, fourteen hundred cavalry, and fifteen hundred artillery, which was thus distributed. From the sum total, the army of Santa Fe, estimated at nineteen hundred, which was extinguished about the first of April last, is to be deducted. And of the residue of this military force, there are, quartered in, and about the city of Buenos Ayres, twenty five hundred. There are in the army of Peru, at Salta, commanded by general Belgrano, three thousand. And in the army of Chile, under general San Martin, which in Buenos Ayres, is called and estimated as a part of the military establishment of the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata, and in Chile is called the united army of the Andes, there were said to be nine thousand five hundred. Of this latter army, about two thousand freed negro troops, were sent from Buenos Ayres, with an intention of finally getting rid of them by wasting them in the wars of that country, or of leaving them to be disbanded there. The rest of the army of the Andes, was originally composed of fugitive Chilenos. The army of Peru has been almost wholly recruited in the high provinces, and has, in many respects, imposed upon them peculiar hardships; all its provisions, cavalry and stores, have been furnished from that country; and its ranks have been entirely filled from it. And the numerous desertions, and continual recruiting, has had the effect not so much of wasting and diminishing the aggregate amount of population, as it has of throwing it loose from the ties of its habits, and domicil, and of shifting and changing its individual location.

The naval armament of the government of Buenos Ayres, consists of ten small vessels, brigs and schooners, of from two to twelve guns each, among which there is distributed a marine corps of about two hundred and fifty men.

I have made every effort to methodise and arrange all I had to present to you, relative to the vice royalty or provinces of Buenos Ayres, in such form and manner, as to cause the subject to be seen in a clear light, and to be fully understood. I trust my efforts have not been altogether fruitless. And, as likely to aid the obtaining a correct view of what I have related, and to facilitate the use, and application of some important facts, I have made out, and annexed the following statistical table.

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REPORT

OF

THEODORIC BLAND, ESQ. COMMISSIONER TO SOUTH AMERICA.

[B.] CHILE.

On the 15th of April, 1818, I left Buenos Ayres, and on the 26th, arrived in Mendoza. The distance, by the way of the post road, which I travelled, is estimated at nine hundred miles. After making the necessary preparations in Mendoza for crossing the Andes, I set out on the 29th April, and arrived in Santiago de Chile, on the 5th May, following. On the 7th of May, I called on Don Antonio Jose de Irasarri, and told him I wished to present my respects to the supreme director of the state, and to make some communications to him, with which I was charged by the President of the United States. Mr. Irasarri, after seeing the director, replied, that it would be agreeable to him to receive my visit on the next day at 10 o'clock, when he would do himself the pleasure of introducing me.

On the next day accordingly, at the hour appointed, I waited on the director, and found him in the common hall of audience and business. He received me respectfully, and I congratulated him on the late splendid victory of Maypu, which had freed his country from its foreign foes, secured its independence, and would, I was sure, be attended with the happiest consequences. He expressed his pleasure at my congratulations and good wishes.

I told him I was one of those, who had been sent by the President of the United States, in a public ship, to that country, for the purpose of obtaining correct information of its situation, and of making some communications as to the course pursued by the United States, as well in a general, as a particular, point of view: that the President and people of the United States, felt a lively interest in the fate of that country; whose people were not looked on as insurgents in rebellion; but, as waging a civil contest, in which each of the contending parties were entitled to equal rights and respect; that the United States had, and would, observe the most strict and perfect neutrality, and that nothing should be yielded, or in any manner conceded, to the one, which would not, in like manner, be granted to the other, according to the law of nations. He said, he had already been as-

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sured of the friendly and neutral disposition of the United States; and that it was expected, the independence of Chile would be first recognised by the first independent government of their own continent. I assured him, that the United States wished no advantages of any kind whatever, of this infant republic; that he would see, by the late message of the President to Congress, the United States neither wished, nor would ask, any commercial advantages of that country, in any treaty which might hereafter be formed between them; that the interests of my country were altogether, and perfectly compatible with the best interests of that; that the United States not only wished that country independent, but also earnestly hoped it might be free; so that each might thus form a security to free institutions, and contribute to the prosperity of the other; and, that the late splendid victory having swept from Chile every thing like a foreign foe, I presumed, it would now set about forming a constitution and form of government for itself. He said, he felt assured of the mutual interests and good will which subsisted between our countries; and, that he should be glad to see the President's message to Congress; that the state of that country, hitherto, had been such, that no constitution could be formed; but, that in a short time, a provisional regulation would be promulgated for its temporary government. He added, that, under existing circumstances, it was deemed impracticable to form a constitution, and dangerous to convene a congress. I expressed a hope, that there could not now be the least apprehension of a foreign foe. He said there was not; but, that congresess had been found to be very dangerous; that they brought with them, and excited, feuds, and jealousies, and party spirit, and intrigue; that, that country had once already been lost by a congress; that Venezuela and other provinces had been lost by a congress; therefore, no representation would be convened there until affairs were more suitable. I told him I had been charged by the President to seek, and to ask, for information concerning that country from the most correct sources and the highest authorities: that the government of the United States, owing to that country's having been so entirely closed against all foreign intercourse under its late system, was, comparatively, very uninformed as to its situation, strength, and resources: I was, therefore, directed to ask for a statement of its population, its military and naval forces, its revenue, and resources of every description, and its relations with other powers; that the communications might be made confidentially; or, in whatever way it should be made, I could assure him that the government of the United States were actuated only by the most frank and friendly motives, by no other views than those of regulating its conduct hereafter, with a correct knowledge of the state of affairs, and that no use whatever should be made of the information thus communicated, other than to promote the amicable relations and the best interests of both countries; that, it was important, as well to that country as to the United States, that any measures hereafter to be taken should be

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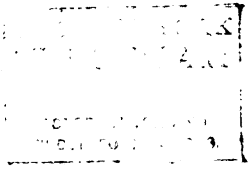

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adopted advisedly, and with a perfect knowledge of the state of things. He expressed his assent to what I stated respecting the propriety of acting with information of circumstances; and added, that he should take pleasure in ordering the communication to be made out as requested. I then told him I should take the liberty of again troubling him, when he was at leisure, with some other communications, which I was directed to present to his view. He replied, that he should feel great pleasure in having an interview with me, upon matters relative to our countries, whenever it might be convenient: And I took my leave.

On the 9th May, I called on the director, and delivered to him a printed copy of the President's Message of the 2d December last, which he had expressed a wish to see. I said to him, that he would perceive by it, that the United States were desirous of cultivating the most friendly intercourse with that country. He replied, that they felt sensibly the value of our amicable dispositions, and should not be wanting, on their part, in promoting amicable relations, on the most liberal terms. I expressed a hope, that the information I had asked for would be made out as soon as the convenience of the public offices would allow, as I was anxious to return by the first safe opportunity. He replied, that it should be made out without delay. I told him, there were some other points which I should, at another time, bring into view, but with which, I would not then engage his attention. In answer to which, he expressed a readiness to hear me with pleasure when convenient. I asked him, if there was any news, or any occurrences of importance of late. He said there was nothing but the singular and unlucky affair of their ship, the Lautaro, which, after having vanquished two frigates of the enemy, the Esmeralda and Pezuela, had, in the most unaccountable manner, suffered them to escape. I observed, that I had heard it spoken of as an extraordinary event. He said, he could only attribute it to the misconduct of the Chilenos, on board the Lautaro, who were wholly unacquainted with maritime affairs. I observed, that I presumed there were but few sailors among the people of the country. He replied, it was true; for, indeed, *there was not a sailor to be found among all the people of Chile;* and, he added, that such was their information of the then circumstances of Peru, and the feebleness of the royal forces there, that, if Chile now had but a few ships of war to clear the coast, and to transport its forces to Lima, that city, with the whole province, would at once be relieved from under the colonial yoke; but that the difficulties of procuring a naval armament was very great. I expressed my regret, that an achievement so splendid, one so important in its consequences, and on every account so much to be desired by them, should be obstructed by a difficulty so serious and insurmountable—and bid him adieu.

On the 14th May, I called again on the director. I told him, that there were some other points which I had been directed, by the President, to bring into the view of the public authorities of the Patriot Powers I should visit: The first of these related to Ame-

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lia Island and Galvezton, which had lately been taken possession of by the United States. The director said, he had never before heard of these places, and asked for an explanation of their situation and nature. I described to him the geographical position of these two places; and then added, with regard to Amelia Island, that the United States had not taken possession of it as being a part of its own territory, but to prevent its being used as a means of violating its municipal regulations, by smuggling merchandise into the United States in fraud of its revenue, and by introducing negro slaves into the states immediately adjoining, contrary to its positive law, and thus increasing a species of population which was considered as an evil, and the addition to which it was determined to prevent by all possible means: that Amelia Island had been a rendezvous for a set of pirates and freebooters, who had, for some time past, infested those seas, interrupting and annoying, as well the commerce of the United States, as the fair traders of other nations; that, for those reasons, the United States had thought proper to take possession of that Island and expel those cruisers who pretended to sail under commissions from the patriot authorities of Mexico, of Venezuela, or such of them as seemed best to answer their purpose; that Amelia Island was taken possession of by the United States under a law, or act of Congress, which authorized the President to occupy Florida, so as to prevent its falling into the hands of any other nation until the claims of the United States against Spain were adjusted; and, that it would be held accordingly, subject to explanations to be given to Spain.

With regard to Galvezton, the same reasons had induced the United States to take possession of it, so far as regarded the violation of its municipal and commercial regulations; and, in addition to these, the United States claimed, and would continue to hold, that position as a portion of its own territory, included, as it contended, within the true and rightful boundary of Louisiana: that, in occupying those two places, and driving off those cruisers who prowled along and infested those seas, in the name of the patriots of South America, the United States conceived, that they were, so far from injuring, rendering an essential service to the patriot cause, by preventing its name and honor from being tarnished and disgraced by a set of sea robbers and free booters, committing the greatest outrages under its name and flag. The director said, he saw it clearly, and was very glad the United States had adopted so correct and decisive a measure; and, so far from seeing any thing unfriendly, he anticipated from it the happiest consequences to the patriot cause, by thus preventing an odium from being unjustly brought upon its name. I then told him, that the government of the United States had been informed, that some of the cruisers, under the real flag of the patriot authorities, had committed considerable violations on our commerce; that, if any such wrongs were to be committed by armed vessels, sailing under the Chileno flag, he could not but perceive, how inevitably, such acts would tend to disturb all harmony between

the two countries, and to crush, in the very formation, every friendly relation that might be begun, and desired to be matured between the two nations; since my government would feel itself bound to protect the rights of its citizens against the insults, or injuries of any other people, however deeply it might regret the repulsive measures it was thus driven to adopt; and, that the President would wish to be informed if there were any prize courts yet established in the country; and, if any, what regulations had been adopted for the government of the public and private armed vessels of Chile. The director said, that whatever cause of complaint the United States might have against the people of any other of the patriot powers, none, he felt satisfied, could be made against Chilenos, or those under the flag of Chile; because, until very lately, there were no shipping or vessels of any kind belonging to it, excepting, indeed, some fishing boats; and, that, within a few months past only, some few vessels had been commissioned; that he had heard of complaints of abuses committed under the flag of other patriot powers; and, to prevent the like as far as practicable, from being perpetrated by those of Chile, it had been determined to put on board each an officer, and such a number of marines as would be able to control and prevent the mischievous propensities of seamen: that, with regard to matters of prize, they were brought before the ordinary and temporary tribunals of the country, until more formal and systematic institutions could be established: and, that for the regulation and government of armed vessels, a set of rules and orders had been adopted, a copy of which should be furnished me, which was accordingly handed me, and accompanies this as document marked (A) I expressed much pleasure at hearing, that measures would be taken to prevent an injurious and wrongful course of conduct, in the only subject which seemed likely at all to disturb the harmony which it was so desirable should be cultivated and improved between the two republics: that the people of the United States not only felt a wish to cherish the amicable relations between the two countries, with an eye to the extension of the channels of commerce, with countries which had what they wanted, and were purchasers of that which they had to spare; but, they also felt a very lively interest in the patriot cause, arising from moral and political causes: they had once been colonies, and recollected the colonial government, from which they had disengaged themselves by a sharp and trying struggle; and, having since experienced the blessings, and ascertained the prosperity, flowing from an independent state, with liberal political and civil institutions, they could not but feel a very strong sympathy in favor of the people of South America; who, they were induced to believe, were not only struggling to throw off an odious colonial system, but also to establish for themselves republican institutions, substantially similar to those they enjoyed. These were powerful causes for sympathy, and the people of the United States felt them with all their influence.

That, with regard to the present condition of Europe, it seemed

to be admitted by all, that it was in the most unsettled and unhappy state; that it could not, nor would not, long remain pacific; and whenever its peace should again be entirely broken up, then that country must look to its neutral friend, the United States, as its only carrier; that former experience has evinced, under similar circumstances, that, while the contending nations and warring monarchs of Europe, pursuing a policy peculiarly their own, and with which the United States is fortunately not entangled, had closed every channel of sommerce against each other, the peaceful republic became the same carrier to them all; so, when a similar state of things shall again arise, as seemed by no means improbable, Chile, being without a single seaman, must see, that the only neutral, willing and able to conduct its commerce in such an event, would be the United States. Indeed, in whatever light the subject was viewed, that country must see, that the United States was its natural, permanent, and fast friend, who had no interest incompatible with its most rapid prosperity, its greatest welfare, and most perfect freedom; that although Chile formed a portion of this vast continent, yet, such were the natural barriers which divided it from the rest, passable only at certain seasons of the year along mere mule paths, it should be regarded, in many respects, as an island separated from the world, perfectly secure, and capable of being defended by its own citizens, unaided, against any foreign force whatever; that Chile was now truly independent; nor was it by nature tied by any ligatures, other than those of free and mutual benefit, to any other country on earth; and, therefore, should henceforth regard itself as holding its destinies in its own hands: The people of the United States wish you independent, not to bargain with you, by treaty, for commercial advantages; for, as you have seen by the President's Message, they stand pledged before the world to ask no such stipulations form the new born nations of our continent; but, to trade freely upon terms of equality and mutual benefit: they ask justice and equality, no more; and, for the rest, rely on their own skill and enterprise. You are reproached with the epithet rebel: the people of the United States recollect when the term, with as little liberality, was cast upon them, and they sympathise with you: they are free, and their freedom has caused them to prosper above all other nations; they wish you, in like manner, to be free; that, by freedom, you too may prosper; and, because free institutions are better calculated than any other to preserve the peace of nations; and the more you flourish, the greater will be the scope of our commercial and beneficial intercourse with you. It is withthese views, that I have been directed to visit and seek correct information of you; to the end, that the relations between our countries may be better understood; and, in due season and manner, matured into strong and lasting friendship. The director expressed himself much gratified at my view of things; declared, that, on his part, nothing should be wanting to promote the most perfect amity; and, that he did most cordially reciprocate the friendly dispositions of the United

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States; but, said he, in times of revolution, we have seen, that it is difficult at once to bring about any important material change, however desirable and reasonable, without endangering every thing: we have seen, that our people are not like yours; they are not used to congresses; and, therefore, congresses have often lost the country: the Mexican congress lost that country; the congress of Venezuela had once lost that country; and the congress of Buenos Ayres had endangered that country, until now, of late, it had learnt to act more in concert and with greater propriety. I observed, that, no doubt, in the beginning, errors would be committed; but, that every thing good must have a beginning, notwithstanding some minor evils might arise; that I hoped soon to see the representative system introduced into that country; and, that if it could not be effected at once, upon a large and comprehensive scale, that, by filling some of the leading offices by election, the whole system would soon begin to flourish, and, if cherished and sustained by a perfectly free press, I felt no doubt, that the happiest effects would soon arise; and, that the principles of free government would be as well understood there as in the United States. He said, it was his determination to adopt, as soon as practicable, the representative system of government, and that, in a few days, his manifesto would be published, in which all his views and intentions would be disclosed. A copy of this manifesto is annexed, and marked as exhibited (B.) After these observations I bid the director adieu.

On the 21st May, being in company with the supreme director, in the course of some trivial conversation with him on the affairs and situation of Chile, he said to me, that there always had been a good understanding between the government of Buenos Ayres and that of Chile since the revolution; but, now the tie between them was very intimate and strong; in short, said he, whatever the government of Buenos Ayres was to ask of this government, no matter what, it would be done; and, on the other hand, whatever should be asked by Chile of Buenos Ayres would, in like manner, be granted, so that, in fact, the bonds of union are as strict as they can be; for they are as two bodies animated by one soul. Previous to the late battle of Maypu, said he, we were obliged to manage and get on as well as we could; but, now the two governments are united, never more to be separated: they cannot be separated. You may hear some dissatisfied people talk, and say many things; but the truth is, that Chile and Buenos Ayres can never hereafter be separated. The conversation then turned on other subjects.

On the 25th May, again meeting with the director, after the usual civilities and some other conversation, I asked him if he had heard of the news or the rumor, that was said to have been brought by the last Buenos Ayres mail. He asked what it was. I told him I understood it was of no less importance than, that an agent or commissioner had arrived at Buenos Ayres, bringing authority from England and the allied powers to meditate between the patriot au-

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thorities and the king of Spain. He said he had not heard any such news, and he did not think it could be true or even probable. I told him I viewed the matter in a light rather more serious than he seemed to do, and would give him my reasons. I then told him, that on my way thither from home I had stopped at Rio Janeiro, and there had heard, through our minister resident there, from the Spanish minister resident at the same place, that Spain had prevailed on England to use her influence with the allied powers to prevail on them to undertake a meditation between Spain and her colonies, to induce the colonies to return to their allegiance on the conditions of granting them free trade, and some other priviliges and modifications of the colonial system, the basis and principles of which were formerly proposed, and rejected by the cortes, or revolutionary government of Spain, prior to the restoration of Ferdinand 7th, and which rejected articles of pacification were to be found inserted in a book lately published in England, entitled "An Outline of the Revolution in Spanish America;" which book, I understood Mr. Iresarri, his secretary, late from England, as well as Mr. Monteagudo, an officer of the government, and who had also lately been in England, were well acquainted with; and further, that I had understood England had actually agreed to intercede with the allied powers, and it was confidently expected its intercession would be effectual, and that the allied powers would at least be induced to give the subject a serious consideration; but, that I did not understand, that England, or any other of the monarchs of Europe, had once thought of including the republic of the United States, in the contemplated pacification of the patriot authorities; perhaps, because they saw, that the interests of the independent republic of North America, were so wholly unconnected and dissimilar from their own, that, to include them, would not fall within the compass of their schemes, or might materially embarrass their plans. The director, after a moment's pause, said, that he did not think there was any thing in the report: that England wanted their commerce, and he did not believe would take an active part against them; and that, as to any modification of the colonial system, or return to the allegiance of Old Spain by that country, it was utterly out of the question. I replied, that although the last report might be groundless, he might rely on it, that there was then an actual negotiation on foot, to induce the allied powers to take sides with Spain against them, and that England had actually moved in the negotiation. What was the nature and complexion of the negotiation, or would be its result, time alone would disclose. I made some further observations as to the general policy of the European powers, and the acknowledged and avowed political principles of hostility to all new and reformed governments, which had held them together as allies for some years past; when the conversation turned upon other subjects.

On the 7th June, in the course of conversation with the director, he said to me, that he had thought at the time, that there could not

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be any thing in what I had told him respecting the mediation of the allied powers, as moved by England; and, that I must have been misinformed: now, however, said he, I am perfectly satisfied of its truth; for captain Shirriff, of the British frigate Andromache, who had just left Santiago, told me he had in his power, papers on that subject, with which he was going to Lima; that he should soon return here on the same subject, and bring with him some account of what might be done; and, that his government had, he was sure, induced the allied powers to mediate between Spain and her colonies; and, that the subject would soon be taken up in due form. The director did not seem willing to go farther in explanations, as to what captain Shirriff had communicated; but, gave me to understand, that all attempt at a reconciliation between Spain and that country, upon any other basis than, that of the recognition of the entire independence of Chile, would be vain and fruitless.

On the 9th July, I received the statistical information which had been promised, and which is hereto annexed, and marked as document (C.) I then called at the office of the Secretary of State; and after having some conversation with Mr. Irisarri on the subject of his communication, I took my leave of him. I then called on the supreme director for the purpose of taking leave of him. I told him, I should leave the city on the ensuing day for Valparaiso, where I intended to embark for my country; that I had received the promised communication, which, although very concise and much condensed, would, I hoped, be deemed satisfactory; and, that I had also received a copy of the rules and regulations for the government of cruizers. He said, that he had intended to write to the President of the United States, merely to say to him, as the chief magistrate of a great nation, that Chile had declared itself independent, so that he might be officially apprised of that fact; and also to inclose him his late manifesto, a copy of which he had sent me, (and is annexed;) and, that, if he could find leisure, he should still do so; but, that the state of his crippled arm, (his right arm had been broken by a musket ball in the conflict of Cancha-rayada,) and the great press of other business of more immediate urgency, had not left him a moment's leisure or ease. I observed, I should, with pleasure, be the bearer of any despatches he might think proper to send to my government; and, if he thought proper, I would call on him again. He said he would not ask that, but would endeavor to have his letter prepared before I left town and send it to me. He then expressed a hope, that much good might grow out of my mission; and, that it would lead to the most permanently friendly relations between our two countries. I told him, I most cordially reciprocated the hopes he had expressed; that for myself, and as an individual, I had seen, since my visit to Chile, much that should induce the United States to cultivate its friendship; that the interests of the two countries appeared to me to harmonize as perfectly as any two nations could possibly do; that they were in no respect at variance; that all the best interests of my country were com-

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patible with the most perfect freedom and the most rapid growth and prosperity of Chile. The director said, the subject had made a similar impression on his mind: still, however, said he, as it would have a powerful effect in confirming the independence which Chile had declared, to have it recognized by some of the most respectable independent nations, Chile would be willing, indeed does actually expect and intend, to extend many commercial advantages to that nation which shall first recognize its independence; and, in doing so, it would be peculiarly gratifying, that, that favored nation should be the United States; a republic of our own continent, to which Chilenos are strongly disposed to become attached, and to be upon terms of the most intimate and cordial friendship.

I told him, that the people of the United States sympathized very strongly with that country in its struggle for freedom, and had, in various ways, more particularly in the mission which had been sent to it, shown a very great disposition to sanction the independence, and to cultivate the friendship, of Chile; but, with regard to any commercial advantages, to which he alluded, I had no instructions to speak; indeed, on the contrary, he would perceive, that the President, in his late message to Congress, had taken that manly, open, and generous ground, from which I did not believe the nation would wish to depart. The United States wanted no commercial advantages held out to them, as an inducement to the acknowledging, or as a compensation for sustaining the recognition, of the independence of Chile: the republic to which I belong, wishes to be informed, to see its way clear, to act with a due degree of circumspection, and it will then treat with a new people, contending for their liberties, as it ought, upon terms of the most exact equality and reciprocity; and be prepared to meet all consequences. But, said the director, we shall certainly make regulations in favor of that nation which shall first recognise our independence: our people will expect it; and it will be done. I observed, that the people of the United States would not fail duly to appreciate whatever municipal regulations, in favor of the commerce of their country, might flow from the voluntary good will of the government of Chile, in the event of its independence being recognised; but, I felt confident, that my government would not ask to have any advantageous stipulations inserted in any treaty it might enter into with Chile; that the United States sought only for justice, and perfect equality, and relied for all advantages on the intelligence, skill, and enterprise, of its citizens, to ensure to them every benefit they could wish from their good friends the Chilenos. The director then desired I would present his highest respect to the President of the United States, and express to him his amicable disposition, as well for himself, personally, as in the name and in behalf of Chile. I wished him much happiness, &c. and bid him adieu.

On the next day, the 10th July, 1818, I left Santiago de Chile. On the day following I arrived in Valparaiso. On the 15th I sailed

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from thence, in the brig America, captain Daniel Rea, bound, by the way of Cape Horn, for Philadelphia, where I arrived on the 29th October, 1818.

In contemplating the state of things in Chile, one is struck at once with the variety and novelty. A country exhibiting features so bold, and in many respects so entirely singular; where nature has been, in some cases, so liberal in bestowing her benefits, yet has withheld them in others no less important: whose soil is generous in the nutrition of the cereal gramina to the utmost bounds of what has been any where known; yet, more than half of its whole extent refuses to sustain a timber tree: a sky seldom overshadowed with a cloud, and rarely swept by a tempest: the surface of the territory bound with chain above chain of rocky mountains, yet frequently trembling with earthquakes, and seldom refreshed by a shower: a people mild, amiable, brave, and uninformed; who, but yesterday, passively yielded obedience to a monach known to them only through the medium of his oppressive deputies; yet, whose cause they, for a time; espoused, and whose wrongs, deposition, and vices, agitated and awoke them into their present revolution. A people who have, with a bravery never surpassed, and worthy of the cause in which they have engaged, declared themselves independent and determined to be free; who have begun to disengage themselves from their shackles, and to throw off their sack-cloth and ashes. A country where the old institutions are, many of them, tumbled into ruins, and there seems to be a wish or a necessity to abandon them all; where society has swung from its ancient moorings, and is loosely, or only held together by the first principles of civilization; or an ill jointed military despotism, well disposed to command, yet trembling at the very name of the people. Altogether, presenting a scene, which cannot be viewed with indifference, to which it is difficult to do justice, and with which the understanding may be readily misguided by the feelings. In such a state of things, to collect, digest, and arrange, a clear and distinct view of affairs; of the commerce of Chile; of its strength, military and naval; of its capacities in peace and war; its political institutions now existing, or the nature of those likely to be framed, is by no means an easy task. In a time of revolution every fact and circumstance is apt to be distorted by the passions; generosity hopes too confidently and paints too fair; ambition colors to suit its purpose; and malice and indolence are always boding ill, and often denounce venial failings as evidence of incurable vice, and proofs of the necessity of continuing the exercise of arbitrary power. Without, however, presuming to indulge in speculation, I shall confine myself to the path of duty, and endeavor to draw together and arrange, a plain account of present and existing facts and circumstances relative to a country in many respects so interesting to the United States.

The long and mountainous territory of Chile commences on the Pacific, at the mouth of the Rio Salado; thence, ascending that river,

and extending away from it toward Paquil, by a line in a northeasterly direction, over a portion of the frightful desert of Atacama, beyond the twenty-fourth degree of south latitude, until it intersects the great chain of the Andes, covered with perpetual snows. Thence, turning directly south, and taking for its boundary the summit of the most elevated Cordillera, and continuing along it south, embracing what is sometimes called New Chile, or the Land of Magellan, until it reaches the strait of the same name. Thence, returning by a coast of more than two thousand miles in extent, indented by numerous bays and harbors, along which are found the mouths of about thirty-five rivers, which, after irrigating some of the most productive valleys on earth, pour the melted snows of the Andes into the Pacific; including also, as a part of the dominion of Chile, along its bold, brown coast, many islands, besides the great one of Chiloe, or those which form the Archipelago of Chiloe or the Ancud.

The traveller who should set out from the Straits of Chacao, and make the tour of Chile, entirely to its northern boundary, the Rio Salado, would form an opinion of the country in many respects materially different from what would be taken up by reading any account of it, that has been hitherto published: he would find a land, whose advantages and inconveniences are in many respects peculiar; which has been sufficiently eulogized in general terms, yet the excellencies of which have not been so accurately described and estimated as they ought to have been. Laying aside, however, all that belongs to history and to philosophy; and, without entering into a scientifical discussion of the physical peculiarities of Chile, I shall make some few observations on the qualities of the territary, and its capacities, as evinced by past experience, to furnish its quota to the general stock of commerce; and as being, in itself, the avenue to a more extended scope of mercantile enterprise and profit. Supposing the tourist to commence from the Straits of Chacao, with these objects in view, he would naturally have his attention directed to the number of the articles of the first necessity with which the country was clothed, or furnished by nature; and he would no less attentively observe its capacity to produce those articles by cultivation, as well as what might be extracted from it of real, or of artificial, value; and these being ascertained, every thing belonging to natural philosophy would be understood, relative to Chile, necessary for a foreign government to know, in order to regulate its commercial intercourse with it to advantage.

Taking leave of the shore opposite the Island of Chiloe, and entering into the territory of the Araucanian Indians, a citizen of the United States might imagine himself among the mountain forests of his own country. He would, no doubt, be struck with the great dissimilarity of almost every individual belonging to the vegetable kingdom, from those of the northern hemisphere; but without proceeding to inquire and investigate as a mere botanist, he would see a country abundantly clothed with fine timber, excellent of its kind, and extremely well adapted to domestic and to naval architecture, and all

other useful purposes: he would find the soil, which was thus valuably shaded, prodigiously fertile; almost all of it fit for tillage, and well adapted to the cultivation and growth of the various kinds of grain: the climate he would find not materially different from that to be met with in the United States among the mountains at a similar distance from the equator; not so intensely cold in the winter, but no less generally salubrious. This would be found to the general face of the country until he arrived at the banks of the Biobio. He would find this fine region, at present, owned and occupied by the celebrated Araucos, a peculiar race of American aborigines, who, with rapidly sinking fortunes and broken spirits, still have something of their pristine character and virtue left: but, who are declining in numbers and in strength, and among whom, the names of Lautaro and Capaulicon are yet remembered, but are revered as the last of the Araucos.

Crossing the Biobio, he would enter immediately into the bishoprick of Concepcion, a country occupied by Spanish population, and similar to that of Arauco, except so far as its present civilized owners have wrought changes on its features. At the river Maule, he would take leave of the bishoprick of Concepcion and enter that of Santiago; but, he would here perceive, that a boundary much more important, than that which had been drawn between the temporalties of the church, had been established by nature herself; that her clothing of rich forests, which had been gradually made thinner, was here entirely thrown off: he would observe, here and there, a solitary tree; but no more of what could be called a timber forest: he would observe some trees and thickets skirting the margins of the rivers, and notice that the valleys and mountain sides were gaily decorated with flowers of the most vivid colors, of various shrubs and plants; and that they were thickly clad with grass and herbage; but that, stripped of all umbrageous covering, nature lay exposed, under a calm and cloudless sky, basking in the strong rays of a fervid sun. From the city of Concepcion to Santiago, the capital of the state, he would, with the exception of one or two ridges, pass through one continued village of peasantry; and pursuing his route still northwardly, until he arrived at the river Aconcagua, he would observe, that the soil had no where diminished in its general fertility; but, that it was yet more destitute of timber and forest trees; and he would remark, that from Santiago, and indeed some distance to the southward of that city, no valley or field could be planted or cultivated, in any way, which was not so situated as to be regularly irrigated from some river or stream of water.

After crossing the river of Aconcagua, he would perceive, that he had left the forests, and the timbered regions of Chile far behind; that he had passed the country so astonishingly productive of wheat and barley; and, that he had now entered upon the dry and sultry regions of the mines of tin, copper, silver, and gold; where the soil was less productive of vegetable fruits; where nature was in those respects less kind, or more neglected than further to the south. After pass-

ing this comparative unproductive, but golden region, whose riches chiefly lie hid beneath its surface, he might be received into the wretched casucha of a Vecuna hunter on the banks of the Salado, the northern boundary of the state, and on the confines of the dreary desert of Atacama; where thirst and famine claim an entire dominion, and forbid, under heavy penalties, the encroachment of either vegetable or animal life. He would then have passed over numerous villages, of a rich, black, and chocolate colored soil, which were of some grain, and of most grass, and herbage, almost incredible fecundity: He would have frequently passed steep cuestas, or declivities, and portezuelas, or little doors, in the ridges which appear to girt and belt the country in every direction. He might, on casting up his eyes, as he crossed a valley, imagine himself in the bottom of an immense natural basin, surrounded on all sides with high mountains, by which the rays of the sun appear to be concentrated to a focus, and poured with the greatest intensity, upon the flat unshaded surface below. Until he had reached the river Maule, he might occasionally at any season, have been deluged with rain; but at Santiago, for seven months in the year, the valley is never once refreshed by a single shower; and beyond Copiapo rains are scarcely known. He would have sometimes risen, and again descended, from one valley into another; and holding a course generally from south to north, he would occasionally have followed the valleys as they inclined or declined easterly or westerly. He would have scarcely ever lost sight of the principal towering cordillera of the Andes on the right; and, now and then, rising an eminence, or looking through a portezuela, in the ridge which lifts its brown side almost perpendicularly above the waves, he would have had a sight of the great Pacific Ocean: He would have travelled upwards of one thousand miles and seen all Chile.

Taking this as the extent of Chile, as it is generally considered when spoken of by its own people, for they seldom make any account of the land of Magellan, the state may be divided, as to its climate, into two regions; the variable and humid region, south of Maule, where the weather is changeful, and it rains occasionally throughout the year, as in the United States; and the invariable and dry country, to the north of that river, where it does not rain for two-thirds of the year, and in the most northerly provinces of which it rains not at all: And, with reference to its natural productions, the country south of the Maule may be called the timber region; from the Biobio to the valley of Aconcagua inclusive; a land flowing with corn, wine, and oil; and, from thence to the northern boundary, the region of valuable and precious metals. These leading, characteristic traits and features are intelligibly and visibly stampt upon it by the hand of nature: they are evident at first sight, and at once attract the attention of every stranger. But to this, as to other general rules, there are exceptions: there are some forest trees near Santiago, and they will grow wherever there is a regular supply of moisture. Wheat and vines are cultivated near Copiapo, and iron is said to be found in greatest abundance near the southern extremity of the state. And the

Chilenos, when in their boastful mood, say, with more foundation of truth than at first might be imagined, that they possess a country which is throughout of greater fecundity than any other on the globe; and, that they never put their foot upon it without treading on silver and on gold.

The average production of wheat in the grain country south of Aconcagua, I believe to be truly estimated at about fifty bushels for one sown. The soil of the valleys of Chile certainly has every external appearance of fertility; but, still I am inclined to believe that much is to be attributed to the peculiarity of the climate of the middle and northern parts of the state. The grain is sown at the commencement of the rainy season, or soon after it sets in: after that is over, and as it is required, the field is regularly watered from a neighboring stream: there is not much dew, no rain, and never a wind to break or prostrate the stalk of the grain during the period of its growth: thus furnished with an abundance of moisture at the root, where, for wheat, it seems to be only wanted, a fervid sun, uninterrupted either by fogs, or rains, or heavy blasts, or cold seasons, which, in our country, so often disappoint the hopes of the farmer, urges an uncommonly generous soil to exert all its energies, and gently brings to maturity all its fecundity. As a proof of the uncommon aridity of the atmosphere, near and north of Santiago, it is usually observed, that iron retains its polish a long time, and is very slowly affected by rust. But, accident drew my attention to what appeared to be a more accurate test of the dryness of the air in Chile: in the humid atmosphere of the neighborhood of Punta San Lewis, just above the great Pampas, there is found in abundance, growing wild, a small parasitic plant, much admired for the beauty and sweetness of its flower, called the flora del ayre, from its deriving its subsistence entirely from the air: It has been taken to Buenos Ayres, and there flourishes well. But, on inquiring for this little parasite in Chile, I was told, that it had been very often brought over the Andes, but was never known to survive the extreme dryness of the atmosphere of Chile more than one season.

The soil of the valleys of Chile is as productive of barley as of wheat; and, apparently, for the same reason: but there is not much Indian corn raised; because, as is said, it requires its top as well as its root to be moistened and refreshed; and, therefore, the climate does not every where suit its growth as well as it does small grain. Chile is no less wonderfully fruitful in the production of hemp than in wheat. In all the humid region, and in every part of it where the soil can be regularly irrigated, hemp may be produced in any quantity. The vine also flourishes exceedingly well wherever it can be watered, and is very generally cultivated, with great profit. The fruit of the vineyards of Chile is very abundant; but the means used for preparing the product for market are aukward, wasteful, and bad: their presses and distilleries for making wine and brandy are rudely managed, and the liquor is generally bad: but I have tasted some excellent

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Chile wine, that had been made with care in Penco, near Conception, and by one or two others near Coquimbo. The raisins, when carefully dried, are very fine. Figs grow in great abundance and perfection. The olive tree also grows to a great size, and yields abundant crops of very large fruit. Almost all the olive oil used in Chile is made in the country: it is as well tasted as that of Europe, but not so well clarified. The stocks of cattle are every where numerous, particularly from Aconcagua to the southward. Each landholder has a great number of horned cattle: the oxen would be reckoned very fine in the United States. The cattle are of a large size, and generally in a condition for beef, except about two months in the year, when the pasturage north of the Maule, fails; that is, after the first rain has destroyed the grass which has been dried on the surface of the earth, and before the next covering springs up. The horses of Chile, whose rising forehand, and sprightly countenance bespeak them to be of the Moorish race of Andalusia, are uncommonly active, spirited, and serviceable: they are numerous and cheap. The most common beasts of burden of the country, however, are the mules: they are raised in great numbers; and are certainly the finest I have seen any where. The country seems to be in many respects, peculiarly adapted to sheep. There are none, or very few, of the merino breed; but of the common kind there are great flocks, that are little attended to, and by some owners not shorn of their wool once during the whole year.

In the dry regions, the ridges and lesser mountains, which cannot be watered, seemed to be condemned to perpetual pasturage: they are annually clothed with a rich coat of grass, which is slowly ripened, and gradually dried into hay, in which state it remains on the ground as good food for the cattle until the first rain in autumn, when it is spoiled or swept off, and there follows a season of scarcity of about two months, until this mountain grass springs up again. This is a short interval, and of pleasant weather, compared to our winters; but the cattle feel it severely, as nothing is provided for them. Hides, tallow, horns, and jerked beef, are, at present, cheaper in Chile than in Buenos Ayres; but, its mountain pastures can never be expected, upon a large scale, to compete, in these articles, with the great Pampas of Buenos Ayres. The husbandry of Chile is in the very rudest and lowest state. There appeared to be no one single operation conducted with skill; or with the proper advantages: yet, there are few, if any, countries on earth where the labors of the husbandman, shepherd, and herdsman, are so generously and liberally rewarded. The riches, that Chile even now derives from these articles are considerable, and they might be immense. It is now, and must always be, the granary of all the tropical regions fronting on the Pacific. But Chile has not hitherto been permitted to know its own value, or to exhibit the various sources of its wealth. There are a few flour mills in the country which manufacture some for exportation. It is not, however, for want of streams and falls of water,

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that more and better mills are not erected. Immediately in the suburbs of Santiago de Chile there are three mills turned by the river Mapocho: they are said to be as good as any in the country, and are what would be called, in the middle states of our union, tub mills, from the structure of the water wheel. The whole machinery of them is extremely simple and rude.

There are so many valuable and productive mines in the province of Coquimbo, and the country to the north of Aconcagua, and the people there are so little engaged in agriculture, and so much devoted to the digging after metals, that it is emphatically called the mining country. But, besides the mines beyond Aconcagua, there are mines and lavaderos all over the state, which contribute more or less to the general amount. It is difficult to form a very accurate estimate of the actual annual amount of the precious metals produced from Chile, during the past years of colonial peace, owing to the loose, obscure, and mingled state of things under the late system, and which have been still more confused since. If it be true, as has been said, that two millions were exported during the last year from Buenos Ayres, there can be little doubt, that much the greater part of that amount was obtained from Chile; because, as is acknowledged by all, there never was a period of time when the mines of the high provinces were less productive, owing to the country's having been so long and so much the seat of war: and, indeed, of the reduced amount that has been extracted, the greatest part was from the mines of those provinces in the actual possession of the royalists; and, therefore, from thence, none could have gone to Buenos Ayres. In corroboration of these reasons, it seems to be the universal impression, acknowledgment, or complaint, in Chile, that great sums of money have been sent over the Andes, during the last year, to Buenos Ayres. Besides, that which has made its way abroad over the mountains, there has gone from Chile, direct to foreign nations, in other ways, in payments for its imports by sea, upwards of one million more; which would swell the last years export of coin or bullion to near three millions; in a year, too, of distraction and civil war. Hence, it would appear, that the state has, in that time, sent abroad more than twice the amount of precious metals that has been coined at its own mint: and from the present exhausted state of the country, and other circumstances, I am induced to belive it very probable.

But the precious metals of Chile can be considered as among the number of the articles of its commerce, only to that amount, which is over and above what may be necessary, as coin, to carry on its own domestic exchanges. After deducting the amount of its necessary circulating medium, the surplus is clearly one of its productions, which it offers to the exchanges of foreign nations. It is true, as Mr. Secretary Irisarri has observed, that the coinage at the mint does not give the amount actually extracted from the mines. The exportation of bullion is prohibited altogether, yet a considerable

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amount is annually smuggled out of the country; and this is the contraband to which he alludes. And it will increase; because of the temptations held out by the high duties on coin. All metal is directed to be carried to the mint, where it pays a quint, or one-fifth, duty, and then the coin, if it be exported, is taxed with a duty of nine per cent. more: but, if the bullion be smuggled abroad, the quint and nine per cent. are saved. That species of bullion called *plata pina*, from the silver having been cast into lumps resembling a pine burr, is worth one eighth more than the standard coin. This furnishes another inducement to smuggle; and, so soon as it shall be well ascertained, that plata pina may be passed, for the same superior value, in China, which it bears in Chile, this inducement will be much increased. Before the ports of Chile were opened to foreign commerce, the people had no means of procuring many necessary household utensils, such as plates, dishes, mugs, cups, bowls, forks, &c. other than those made in the country: hence, it was not altogether pride and ostentation, which caused so general a use of silver utensils of this description; they were necessaries, and the cheapest; indeed, in some cases, the only kind to be had. This is the home consumption alluded to by Mr. Irisarri: and it is articles of this description chiefly, which, in the mint report annexed to his letter, are designated by the name of chafalonia, or botched, old fashioned ware. The consumption of silver, in this way, formerly, to gratify the ostentation and the convenience of the Spanish families, was very considerable; but, since the porcelain from China, the British Liverpool ware, and the English cutlery have been introduced, the chafalonia, or old fashioned articles, disappear very rapidly: Therefore, of the two causes alluded to by Mr. Irisarri, which render the mint estimate an unfaithful guide in ascertaining the actual production of the mines, the one increases and the other diminishes with the opening of the ports and the activity of foreign commerce. Upon the whole, however, it is reasonable to suppose, that Chile produced, just before the commencement of the revolution, more than three millions of the precious metals: And as but a small quantity of this could be required to keep up the necessary amount of its circulating medium at home, this article of its commerce may, therefore, be set down at about three millions annually.

Beside the precious metals, the copper mines of Coquimbo have actually produced, during the last year, ending 1st May, 1818, amidst the difficulties of the times and the dangers of the state, and shipped in foreign vessels, chiefly of the United States, forty-one thousand quintals. The copper mines are principally situated near the coast, and are believed to be the most productive in the world. In addition to the copper, there has also been shipped from Chile a considerable amount of tin. Of these two metals the annual production may be estimated at about five hundred thousand dollars.

In the valley of Santiago, there is a great abundance of a species of thorny shrub, or scrub tree called Espino, and which we should,

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from its appearance, most probably call a dwarf honey locust. It is from this the city is supplied with fuel. This kind of growth is found all the way to the north, but less, and not so abundant, in Coquimbo as farther south. This is the only fuel at present used in the furnaces for extracting metals; and the mine country has been so nearly stripped of even this scanty supply, that it is dug up by the roots. Fuel has of late become of much more serious consideration in the process of extracting metals than it used to be; and if the mines were wrought with greater activity than they are at present, the country of the principal mines would, ere long, be entirely deprived of all fuel. This difficulty has, however, been looked to and considered as it approached. It is said, that, in addition to the wood fuel which might be had from the timber country, there is, immediately on the banks of the Bicbio, near the city of Concepcion, as fine pit coal to be had, and in as great abundance, as in any part of the world.

Besides the territory north of the river Biobio, or all that portion of Chile settled by a civilized population, which is commonly alluded to when speaking of it in general terms, there is the city and district of Valdivia, the land of Magellan or New Chile, the island and Archipelago of Chiloe, and some other islands of less importance. The district of Valdivia is about thirty miles in length and eighteen in breadth, but thinly populated, and more remarkable and valuable for its timber than any thing else. There are said to be forty-seven islands scattered sbout in the Archipelago of Ancud, or Chiloe as it is more frequently called: the largest of them is that which has imparted its name to the whole group. It is about one hundred and fifty miles long, and fifty broad. The inhabitants of this, and the whole group, are a mixed race, the greater proportion native. They are called Chilotes, are much civilized, and have been long under the Spanish government. The principal articles of commerce furnished from these islands, is timber, which is brought to Valparaiso, and the ports north of it in planks, scantling, &c. chiefly for domestic uses; and pork, a considerable quantity of which is cured into hams, that find a market in the city of Santiago de Chile, and in other more northern parts of the state This Archipelago of Ancud is principally valuable, however, on account of its fishery, and as bidding fair to be the future nursery of Chileno seamen. The two Islands of Juan Fernandes, so famous for having been once the habitation of the fabulous Cruso and real Selkirk, are at present uninhabited, and seem destined by nature to remain so. The largest, called Isla Tierra, from its being nearest the land, was made the prison of the patriots by general Osorio when he resubdued Chile, from which they were relieved, after suffering two years' confinement, when Marco was defeated and taken at the battle of Chacabuco, and the patriots regained their ascendency. The government of Chile has always claimed the land of Magellan, but has, as yet, had no civilized population within it, nor exercised any other jurisdiction or influence over it than over the other neighboring tribes of savages.

There are few or none of the valleys of Chile from which there is a gentle communication into those adjoining: a high ridge or a mountain surrounds them all, and a cuesta or a portezuela, more or less rugged and precipitous, and passable only for mules, is in almost all cases the only means by which the society of one valley carries on its intercourse with that of its vicinity. In some happier times, the industry of the inhabitants and the energies of the people may be directed by more liberal and enlarged views, when the present difficulties and restraints upon internal communication from valley to valley may be rendered so easy as more intimately to combine, and develop the best feelings and greatest interest of the country. At present, there are not more than three carriage roads in all Chile: one, which has been made at a considerable expense over three or four very elevated ridges, from Santiago, the capital, a distance of nearly one hundred miles, to Valparaiso, the principal seaport on the Pacific.—There is another road, passible for carriages, between the same cities, by the way of Melipilla, thirty or forty miles farther about; but in some respects a better road. This was the original route of communication between the capital and its port. From the city of Santiago to the city of Concepcion there are only two ridges to prevent the passage of carriages the whole way, a distance of four hundred and thirty five miles. Except these, there is not another road on which a wheeled carriage can be travelled with safety out of the particular valley to which it belongs. The very clumsy ox-carts, which effect a great portion of the transportation between Santiago and Valparaiso, are a week or more in performing the journey. They carry from one ton, to a ton and a half, and charge for it twenty five dollars per load. Except these carts, all transportation beyond the valley is made on mules. The fare per mule load, which is four hundred pounds weight, from Santiago to Valparaiso, is one dollar and a half, and so in proportion in any other direction. This inconvenience and expense of inland transportation was much enhanced to the mine country under the colonial system, which exacted a duty on wheat and flower shipped coastways, from one province to another. Coquimbo drew from its southern neighbors a great portion of its bread, and was, therefore, under the necessity of getting its wheat from Aconcagua on mules, or of paying this duty on it by sea. This colonial regulation has, however, been abolished by an edict of the present director, passed on the 29th May, 1818.

The numerous ridges, by which the surface of Chile is broken, present difficulties in the way of internal communication, but such as are no where insurmoutable. The loose composition of those ridges is such, that roads may be shaped along their sides with comparatively little labor; and, when made, such is the temperate regularity of the seasons, with few repairs, they may be preserved for ages.—But, the wide desert and the lofty Cordillera, by which Chile is enclosed and separated from the rest of the continent, presents a barrier formed of a lifeless waste, or a range of mountains lifted in such

rugged masses and reared so far into the region of snows, that it is only practicable for mules by some few narrow passes, and during particular seasons of the year. The desert of Atacama may be said to commence in Chile, almost immediately after crossing the river Juncal, or dry river, as it is some times called; thence to the river Salado, the northern boundary of the state, is a distance of fifty miles; thence to the town of Atacama, in the vice royalty of Peru, is a distance of nearly three hundred miles, by the way of the coast, and the road passes wholly over a dry, sandy plain, where the traveller meets no living thing either of the vegetable or animal kingdom; and, losing sight of every other guide, his way is often only to be directed by the bleached bones of mules, which have perished in attempting to force a passage over that terrible waste. Instead of passing this dreary region, it is generally thought safer and better to climb the steep crags of the mountains and take the road leading over the Andes, along their giddy precipices and narrow passes. Travellers and post riders sometimes cross the deserts of Atacama along the lower and more level road, but, few or no traders or carriers ever venture to pass that way; nor, it is presumed, would any military leader lightly, be induced to encounter its difficulties for the purpose of carrying hostilities along that route into Chile. The desert of Atacama may, therefore, be considered as a great natural barrier, by which it is closed on that side against both commercial and hostile visiters.

The great elevated boundary of Chile, the principal Cordillera of the Andes, is passable only for mules, from any part of the civilized settlements on one side to those of the other. The pass most frequented is that of Putaendo or Uspillata, leading from St. Filipe to Mendoza, and is the one by which all travellers, from Buenos Ayres to Santiago de Chile, cross the Andes. On going out of Chile, after passing the village of Villa Nueva, on the river Aconcagua, about six miles above the city of St. Filipe el Real, you ascend the valley of Putaendo, and begin almost immediately to climb the mountain; from Villa Nueva to the Guardia, or outpost of Chile, is a distance of thirty-eight miles; and thence it is thirty-two miles to the Cumbre, or extreme ridge. The path winds along near the margin of the river Aconcagua, rising from elevation to elevation, by a zig-zag path, up rough ascents, that seem to be almost perpendicular; or passes along frightful precipices, from whose dizzy height the stream is seen below, foaming and tumbling through rocks abrupt and sounding far, until, at length, arriving at the source of the river which gushes from the foot of the highest ridge, by another laborious march you reach the bleak Cumbre itself; whence, below, on the west, are seen the fountain waters of the river of Aconcagua, that, with headlong speed, are hastening to the Pacific: and on the east, at the foot of a long steep slope of naked clay, is seen one of the head branches of the Tanuyan, which, with a rapid current, but not with such impatient haste, is bearing off its waters to swell the great collection, made from among these snow-capt elevations, that

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is poured into the Rio Colorado, which glides over the great Pampas into the South Atlantic Ocean. From the Cumbre to Uspillata, a distance of seventy miles, the path is extremely rugged, but not so precipitous as that on the western side. A large branch of the Rio Tunuyan is poured through the valley of Uspillata, which forms some level, the grass and shubbery of which affords a little picking for the mules. On this stream the Guardia or outpost of Buenos Ayres is planted. From Uspillata to Villavicencio is sixty miles; and, with the exception of two or three steep, narrow passes, the mule path is comparatively good. From the last eminence the boundless plain, stretching along the eastern foot of the Andes, presents itself like the ocean seen from a lofty promontory's top. Making an estimate of the width of the Andes along this mule path, as it mounts and descends the ridges, or winds round about them, from Villa Nueva in Chile to Villavicencio in the province of Mendoza, the whole will be found to be about two hundred miles. The whole distance along this route, from Santiago de Chile to Mendoza, is three hundred miles, and common carriers usually perform the journey in seven or eight days.

The chief difficulty in passing the Cordilleras, by the way of Putaendo, seemed to arise from the want of food for the mules: the little they could gather from the shrubbery and herbage at night, when unladen and turned loose among the crags of the mountains, was scarcely sufficient to keep the creatures from famishing; yet, the carriers never think of taking along any food to sustain them by the way. On each side the Cumbre there are four or five casuchas, or huts, built entirely of brick and covered by an arch: they are about twelve feet square within, and the floor is elevated about eight feet from the ground. These casuchas are placed at short and convenient distances one from another, and are intended as places of refuge for those who may happen to be caught in a temporal, or one of the terrible snow storms of the Andes; like the similar buildings of the natives along the same path, of which there are the ruins of one or two remaining.

There is another pass over the Andes to the north of this, leading from the city of St. Filipe el Real, in Chile, to San Juan, called the Patos. The distance through the mountains is greater, and the path much more rugged than that of Putaendo. It was through these two passes, of the Putaendo and Patos, that San Martin conducted the army which fought the battle of Chacabuco; took or destroyed all the royal army, captured Marco, its commander, and restored Chile to the patriot power. Farther to the north, the mountains are wider, and the passes leading from Copiapo, in Chile, in the direction toward Rioja, Tucuman, and Salta, are much longer than that of Putaendo and as rugged. There is a pass to the southward of Santiago, which follows the Rio Maypu to its source, and thence crosses over to a branch of the Rio Mendoza, which is said to be much easier than that of Putaendo; and, still fur-

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ther to the south, the Andes are said to subside into such gentle slopes, that a good carriage road might be had the whole way from Chile to Mendoza: But the country is entirely in possession of the savages, who have hitherto refused to suffer their territory to be made a thoroughfare, or there is so little traffic and commercial intercourse leading in a southerly direction, that those passes have been as yet only explored and are very little used.

The pass of Putaendo, the Patos, and most of the others, are utterly impracticable, even for mules, in the winter season, that is, from the middle of May until the first of October; but, during that time, they are continually passed on foot. Peons, or laborers of the country, are hired to carry the baggage of the traveller, made up in diminished packages, over the frozen and snowy region, which is about four or five days' journey in that manner. A Swedish officer who was travelling for his own amusement, or the information of the king his master, arrived at Santiago a short time before I left it, having crossed at the pass of Putaendo on the snow: He told me, that he did not think it so bad as many of the mountains of Sweden in the winter season; but that the people, being little accustomed to such passes, as there were few in the country, were illy provided, and very aukward in encountering their difficulties.

It is by the pass of Putaendo principally, and those to the north of it, that all inland trade between Chile and the provinces east of the Andes, has hitherto been conducted.

During the colonial system this traffic was considerable; and for some time after the battle of Chacabuco, they were almost the only routes of the foreign commerce of Chile. The manufactures of Europe, of England, particularly, made their way into Chile by these paths. The matte, or yerba of Paraguay, so necessary a luxury to Chilenos, will, perhaps, long continue to be imported by these ways; and, if the experiments now making, should prove that tobacco cannot be raised in Chile in as great perfection as is expected, that is another article of which there will, perhaps, continue to be considerable importations over the Andes from Paraguay, Tucuman, and Salta. The citizens of Buenos Ayres have been declared to be naturalized citizens of Chile. Hence they import and export, in this way, almost all articles free of duty. Matte, when brought in by this route, is free of duty; when imported by sea it pays four dollars per quintal. Tobacco is imported in the same way, on similar terms. Specie, when exported from Chile by sea, pays nine per cent. duty; when sent over the Andes it pays nothing; and if exported from Buenos Ayres it pays six per cent. From Santiago to Buenos Ayres the exchange is two per cent: so that to remit specie from Santiago, by the way of Buenos Ayres, there would be a saving of one per cent. supposing all duties and charges paid, and all other expenses, equal. This intercourse along the mule paths of the Andes, so beneficial to Buenos Ayres and disadvantageous to Chile, may subsist so long as their ruling chiefs shall find it convenient to do what

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either may ask of the other, right or wrong, or to act as two bodies animated by one soul; but it is obvious it cannot continue long under any circumstances which shall leave the Pacific Ocean open to foreign intercourse, and the real interests of Chile to their fair and natural operation.

Mr. Irisarri, has thought proper, in his communication, to confine himself to a mere list of the several cities, ports, and towns of Chile, without saying any thing as to their population, commerce, or other circumstances, which might be interesting to a foreign and friendly government: I will endeavor to supply this omission as far as in my power. The city of Santiago, situated near the western foot of the Andes, and about an hundred miles from the seacoast, is the principal city of Chile: it contains a population of about forty thousand souls: it is the seat of government; and also, singular as it may seem, the seat of the customhouse, into which all foreign merchandise must be brought to be valued and assessed with the duties payable to the state. The cities of Coquimbo, and Concepcion, are not much inferior in size to Santiago; and, from the greater communication with foreigners, and their better means of information, the inhabitants are said to be, generally, more intelligent than those of Santiago. All the other towns of the state are similar in general character, differing only in size; as to which, however, it must be recollected, that the distinction between city and town, is not always made with reference to the importance and population of the place; but more commonly in allusion to the organization of its corporation. Rancagua is a small town; but the patriot forces, under the present director, having formerly made a bold stand there against the royalists, he has thought proper to issue an edict, investing it with the name, honors, and privileges of a city. So, too, the little village of Casablanca, situated in the midst of a fine valley, held chiefly by Mayrasgos, and therefore, not cultivated as fully as it might be, was too distant and inconveniently situated to be held under the jurisdiction of Quillota, and therefore, the present director, by his edict, gave it the separate magistracy of a town. The inland towns of Chile are, perhaps, not worthy of attention in any other respect than as being the seats of manufactures, or of so much intelligent population; and, consequently political power, and commercial capacity and wants. But the seaports are the doors by which we shall communicate with Chile, and are, therefore, more particularly interesting.

The northern seaport of Chile is Copiapo. It is situated immediately at the mouth of the river of the same name. The harbor affords good anchorage, is easy of acccess for vessels of any size, and is safe from the northerly and southerly winds. The country round Copiapo is the least productive of any in Chile; indeed may, in some respects, be considered as barren. It is visited chiefly for the metals, which are extracted from the adjacent country. Coquimbo is farther to the south, it is seated a short distance above its harbor, which is a fine capacious bay, easy of access: and, when vessels are anchored

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in from six to ten fathoms near the Tortugas rocks, they are not only protected from all winds, but likewise from the uneasy swell and roll of the sea. This is the chief port of the mine country: the richest of the copper mines are near it; and, husbandry is in as good a state just about this city as in any part of Chile. Refreshments may be readily had there. Guasco, or Huasco, is a port about fifty miles south of Coquimbo, with good anchorage, and capable of receiving large ships, having from eighteen to twenty fathoms near the land. The small town of Guasco is about six miles to the southard of the river of the same name. The next port south of Guasco, and one which, on several accounts, is most interesting to citizens of the United States, as well for the honor which was there sustained by their flag as for its conveniences of trade, is that of Valparaiso. A high, brown promontory projects into the pacific, forming a deep crescent, the concavity of which, opening to the north, forms the harbor. The entrance is immediate, easy, and safe; and ships of any size, or in any number, may ride at good anchorage in perfect safety against all winds, but those coming directly from the north; when, if it blows a gale, the harbor is unsafe, and vessels must go to sea or be driven on shore. But such gales seldom happen. The trade-winds of the coast of Chile, setting almost invariably from south to north, throughout the year, there is a considerable swell, usually setting in from the ocean, which might be very easily checked by piers from the projecting points of the harbor. Such a useful erection was once begun by an enterprising individual, but was stopped by the colonial government lest it might favor smuggling. Valparaiso contains about ten thousand inhabitants, in a town principally strewed round the beach, and in the gullies of the promontory by which the harbor is formed. In the suburb, called the Almendral, or Almond Orchard, situated a little to the east of the usual landing place, there are a few small quintas, except which there are no gardens or any cultivation near the town. Its supplies are almost altogether brought from the fertile and plentiful valley of Quillota, about thirty-six miles to the south, along a road over the ridges which project into the Pacific. But the provisions derived from thence are so cheap, that, according to an account which an American captain showed me, he had made out to render to his owners, his crew of eleven men, including himself, were abundantly supplied with bread, meat, and fresh provisions of every kind, for more than six months, for three hundred and fifty-six dollars. Valparasio is the principal port of importation into the country at present held by the patriots. It was fortified, under the colonial government, against a maritime attack; and some new works were thrown up during the last year for a similar purpose, but they are not yet finished.

Talcahuano is the port and harbor of the city of Concepcion, on the north side of the river Biobio. It is one of the most capacious and finest bays on the coast of the Pacific Ocean; quite easy of access for ships of any size; and when in, there is good anchorage,

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and in safety against all weather. It is about six miles from the city, which stands immediately on the river Biobio. This harbor has never been fortified against a marine force; and it seems to be questionable whether it can be perfectly secured from an attack in that way. It is at present the rendezvous of the royal marine force acting against Chile. Six or eight miles to the south of the Bibio is the bay and harbor of St. Vincente, which is also secure against all winds. But, this good harbor is too little noticed and valued owing to its having so fine a bay and harbor as Talcahuano in its immediate neighborhood. The port and harbor of Valdivia, is fine, capacious, and safe. It is much celebrated in the history of Chile, for having excited the cupidity of the predatory Dutch and English prowlers. But there is no extent of territory and civilized population round Valdivia, to give value to any intercourse with it at present: it is therefore, rather estimated as the future seat of an extensive commerce than for its importance at this time. If I am not mistaken, the port of Arauco, spoken of by Mr. Irisarri, is that formerly held by the Spanish colonial authorities on the river Larampangue, whose mouth is opposite the island of St. Maria, and to the south of the Biobio; if so, it is now entirely within the acknowledged territory of the Araucanian Indians; nor have I been able to learn where the port of El Gobernador, of which he speaks, is situated, unless it be at the mouth of the river Tucapel Viejo, where governor Valdivia was killed by the Indians, which is between the islands of Mocha and Santa Maria. Beside Valdivia, there are the harbors of Imperiale, at the mouth of the river Cuetan, the Estero Maulin, Calbuco, and others within the Araucanian territory, which will be more known, used and valued, when the progress of the civilized population of Chile shall either expel or incorporate the Indians of that country. Of the various rivers of Chile, there are none which are navigable except for small vessels, and a short distance into the country.

Mr. Irisarri, in his communication, sets down the population of the state according to a census made a few years since, during the first period of the patriot government, at one million two hundred thousand, and makes an allusion to some supposed inaccuracies, the nature of which he has not explained. I am induced, however, to believe, that the census was substantially correct; from the general understanding and belief in the country; from the number of towns; and the apparent numbers inhabiting the several valleys; and also, because Chile, not being at that time, at all connected with any other province, there could be no motive for underrating its population, or of misrepresenting its strength in any way, or for any purpose whatever. All the civilized or Spanish population, except the small parcels of Valdivia and the islands, is situated altogether north of the river Biobio; and if, from this portion of Chile, is deducted all that dry unproductive district to the north of the river Juncal, which, except a few Vecuna hunters, has not an inhabitant upon it, then it will appear that nearly the whole of this population of one million two hundred

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thousand, is seated on perhaps less than two-thirds of that extent of territory which is generally understood to be comprehended under the name of Chile. The entire length of the state, from the straits of Chacao to the river Salado, may be estimated at about nine hundred miles; and from the brow of the Andes to the shore of the Pacific, it cannot be fairly estimated at more than one hundred and forty miles in width, on an average. This, then, would give an extent of one hundred and twenty-six thousand square miles altogether; only about eighty of which are occupied by the civilized Chilenos of European or mixed descent. On comparing this country with some portions of our own, it will be found to contain nearly as many inhabitants to the square mile. The states of Maryland and Virginia, including the District of Columbia, together, contain seventy-four thousand nine hundred square miles, and the sum total of their population, according to the last census, was one million three hundred and seventy-nine thousand one hundred and ninety souls. If we recollect the mountainous surface of Chile, and that there are few or no inhabitants on the mountain sides, it will appear evident, that its population is very much condensed in its several valleys. Of the whole of this civilized population there is, at present, no more than about two-thirds of it, or eight hundred thousand, at this time, actually under the government of the patriot authorities. The royalists have possession of Penco, with a considerable extent round the city of Concepcion, which is well fortified on the land side, and is their strong hold: they have Valdivia and the Archipelago of Chiloe also; whence they have drawn a few recruits for their army, and some other resources.

Immediately after it had been determined, that a partial independence, at least, should be carried into effect, the patriot, or ruling authorities of Chile, in the year eighteen hundred and eleven, passed a law, entitled "An act for opening and encouraging commerce and navigation." This law declared the ports open to all friendly and neutral nations, and specified Talcahuano, Valparaiso, and Coquimbo, as the greater, or proper, ports of entry for all foreign merchandise; and went on to regulate the commerce and navigation of Chile in various particulars, and prescribed a tariff of duties. This legislative act, with some few alterations, contains the tariff and regulations by which foreign commerce is at present governed. I procured the manuscript copy which accompanies this, marked as exhibit (F,) by which you may ascertain specifically and in detail what are the existing commercial regulations in all material points therein specified. But as there are some matters which would not appear, or be readily understood merely from reading it, I shall, therefore, give an explanation of the duties, charges, and embarrassments to which our trade with Chile is at this time actually subjected.

The duty called Almoxarifazgo, is one which has been levied and collected in Spanish America ever since its settlement. It is levied on every thing imported into, or exported out of, the country,

but is more generally and properly the name given to import duties. It has, from time to time, been raised and lowered, and varied with the various articles on which it has been laid. But the Almoxarifazgo duty of Chile, at this time, is twenty-two per cent. on all imports. The alcabala is an excise, paid on all articles sold. This is also a very ancient Spanish form of taxation; and is an excise, the origin of which, in America, is coeval with its settlement. All foreign merchandize imported is subjected to this alcabala, and, at present, its amount is ten per cent. When a vessel arrives at her destined port in Chile, her cargo must be landed and placed in the warehouse of the government, until the amount of duties is adjusted and paid, or secured. To prevent smuggling, and also that the importer may not be imposed on, the government undertakes, as it says, this operation of landing and storing; and, that it may be paid for this trouble, it imposes another duty, called subvencion, or help, for this, its assistance, given to the importer, of one and a half per cent. The customhouse officers, and other agents of the government, employed in collecting the customs, are allowed no fees, to ensure their integrity and vigilance: however, in order to raise a fund to pay them a salary, there is an additional half per cent. duty imposed for that purpose, called the impuesta de averia por el estado. The court of justice, called the consulado, is a tribunal, that was erected for the use of merchants particularly. None of the members or officers of this court are allowed by law to receive any fees; but, as they labored for merchants it seemed fair that commerce should be taxed to raise for them a reasonable compensation: therefore, there is another tax of one half per cent. laid and collected for this purpose, called the impuesta de averia por el consulado.

These several ad valorem duties are laid on according to a valuation of the goods at the market price in Santiago, when they arrive there. The sum total of them makes what is called the regular legal amount of single duties on all imports; that is, thirty four and one half per cent. When double duties are imposed, which is the case on liquors, ironmongery, claret in casks, windsor chairs, ladies silk and Morocco shoes of French fabric, and some other articles, all these duties are doubled, except the subvencion, by which the sum total of duty on such articles is raised to fifty seven and one half per cent. But tobacco, snuff, arms, and ammunition, are to be sold only to the government, unless by special permission. This rule, however, has been much relaxed of late.

Such is the law: now for the practice. The customhouse is in the city of Santiago, a distance from Valparaiso, the nearest seaport, of ninety or one hundred miles. The mere underlings, and the guard only, are situated at the ports; consequently, all authoritative communications, permits, and the like, can only be had from Santiago, where the whole cargo must be sent and deposited, before any of its packages can be opened or exposed to sale; with the exception of some few heavy articles, such as iron, &c. Notwithstanding what

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is paid for subvencion, for the state, and for the consulate, the importer finds himself under the necessity of hiring assistants, of feeing the officers. and the consulate, or in fact bribing them, or his business stands still. I shall give the example of an American ship, the cargo of which was valued at one hundred and ninety-seven thousand dollars; but as regards the following fees and charges, they do not materially vary with the value of the cargo; they are paid in the lump, and must be incurred to have the cargo, great or small, placed in the stores for sale. The first charge is for inspectors, porters, boatmen, storage, &c., one hundred and fifty-five dollars; that is for subvencion; which the government, by that phrase, had intimated was not to be paid by the individual. The next is for despatching mules, carts, and permits, for the goods, two hundred dollars. Another is for transporting the goods to the custom house in Santiago, and thence into the stores in the same city for sale, eight hundred and fourteen dollars. These two last items of expense are incurred merely from the customhouse being planted at the foot of the Andes, instead of being near the wharf; for some of these very goods were sent back and exposed to sale in Valparaiso. And finally, the expense of petitions and expresses, twenty-six dollars, fees to the officers of the consulado, to whose use a per centage had been paid for rendering their services to the merchant gratis. These charges amount to eleven hundred and ninety-five dollars, and are no more than what is usual, in addition to the delay, vexation, and trouble, of the merchant.

The export duties are similar in their nature. On tin there is paid a direchos de salido, or an export duty of three per cent. and the subvencion, the averia por el estado, and the averia por el consulado, making a sum total of five and a half per cent., on the standing government valuation of ten dollars per quintal. On copper, the sum total of duty is thus divided: the derechos de salido three per cent. alcabala, six per cent. subvencion, averia por el estado, averia por el consulado, and two rials per quintal. These are all paid into the aduana or custom house. The ventado, or inspection, five per cent, and one rial per quintal, to be paid into the treasury, or caxas del estado. These ad valorem duties are levied on the market price of the copper, and amount to sixteen per cent. and three rials, or thirty-seven and an half cents per quintal beside. On wheat, hides, tallow &c. the growth of the country, exported in foreign bottoms, and there are, as yet, but one or two others, the duties are as follow: Almoxarifazgo, one and an half per cent. alcabala, four per cent. subvencion, three fourths of a per cent., averia por el estado, one quarter per cent. usually making the estimate of duty on the most reduced market prices; on which articles the total amount of export duty is thus made up to seven per cent. The law allows the merchant to bond for the payment of the duties in three months, which indulgence the government frequently extends to six, and even nine months. The exportation of gold and silver bullion is absolutely prohibited. and coin, on being exported by sea, is subjected to a duty of nine per cent.

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In reply to my inquiry, what was the amount of the revenue of Chile, the sources whence it was derived, and the objects on which it was expended, Mr. Irisarri has thought proper merely to furnish a copy of some of the treasury accounts of the last year. This might, perhaps, be deemed the most concise, accurate, and perspicuous mode of answering a citizen of Spanish America; but not a foreigner. Therefore, as these accounts may, in the United States, be considered as obscure, I shall take a review of them, and make such observations as appear to be necessary in order clearly to understand their nature, and what are the sources of the revenue of the state, and the objects on which it is expended.

The papers annexed to Mr. Irisarris' communication, marked as number 4 and 5, are two treasury accounts of receipts and expenditures of revenue. The first of these papers furnishes exemplifications of every thing relative to the present revenue of Chile. I shall, therefore, notice each of its several items. The whole receipts of the treasury, according to this account, are comprehended under nineteen distinct items. The first is the amount of the common internal revenue: the fourth is the duty on tobacco. The eleventh, twelfth, and fifteenth, are duties on flour, liquor, quicksilver, gunpowder, stamped paper, hides, and other articles, all of which are principally collected in the shape of an alcabala. The second and fourth, derived from mining and coining, have been already explained. The third is the amount of the customs, or duties or the exports and imports of the country; laid and collected as has also been explained. The sixth is the proceeds of papal bulls and indulgence, or dispensations from crimes, sins, and observances of the church: they are of two classes; bulls for the living, and bulls for the dead: by the first may be obtained absolution from crime, from sin, or the party be indulged in eating eggs and milk, or even flesh meat, during fast days and lent. This is a greater relief than might at first be imagined. Near the bay of San Antonio, I was shown a species of sea weed, of which the faithful peasant made a porridge when neither the bull nor fish could be had. The bull for the dead, is purchased by the relations of the deceased, on his behalf, and is a means whereby the pains of purgatory may be lessened and shortened. These bulls are small pieces of printed paper, intimating in substance, what extent of indulgence the pious holder may ask for; and, after having been duly and regularly sanctified in the church, they are put into the shops and sold as a sort of stamped paper. And it would also seem, from this item of the treasury account, that contributions are still in the most distant regions of the earth, levied on the faithful to raise a crusade for the relief of the holy land, and for the redemption of those made captive in so glorious and pious an enterprize.

The seventh item was the amount of what were called the monthly contributions, which, in a note, Mr. Irisarri says, have been abolished, without telling us what has been substituted in their place. On looking among the edicts issued by the present patriot govern-

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ment; however, I found that which furnished the explanation. By this edict, dated on the ninth of December, eighteen hundred and seventeen, after reciting, that the burdens of the state ought to be equally and proportionably borne; that large landed estates were held in absolute proprietorship by all the religious institutions; that almost all the great landholders had, in one way or other, charged their estates with the render of some rent, corrody, or benefit, to one or other of the religious institutions; that such institutions also held a considerable amount of censos, or money at interest, and that merchants who might not have any lands or tangible property, were yet, commonly, wealthy in floating capital; it enacts and declares, that all lands and other property, whether held by the church or individuals, shall be taxed one per cent. per annum; a quarter of which shall be paid by the religious institutions in whose favor the land was charged, or the mortgagee, to be adjusted proportionably, according to an actual valuation, which shall be made; and that merchants shall, also, be taxed one per cent. on what shall appear, on investigation, to be the actual amount of their capital. What will be the amount of the proceeds of this tax, it is impossible to say, as the first year's collection of it had not been brought into the treasury. It is, however, I believe, the first *direct*, internal, land and property tax, ever attempted to be levied in Spanish America, and the first tax that ever has been laid on the property of the church in the Spanish settlements; and I am inclined to believe, that it will prove to be more fruitful in revenue, and in its consequences, than any tax ever laid in Chile. The eighth source of income set down, is that of the tithes. By adverting to the paper No. 2, attached to Mr. Secretary Irisarri's communication, it will be perceived, that he has given an average of the product of the tithes of all Chile, under the old regime, when the state had not been wasted or disturbed by war, at two hundred and sixteen thousand eight hundred and eleven dollars. This is stated to have been the annual amount paid into the treasury, but of the entire product a small part of what is actually collected; but what proportion I could not learn, even from the Secretary himself, is paid to the clergy. It has always been usual in Chile to farm out the collection of the tithes, sometimes to favorites, at a considerable sacrifice to the state. During the last year the tithes of the valley of Coquimbo, which were estimated, and said to have actually produced, twenty-four thousand dollars, were farmed out to a collector for sixteen thousand The ninth article is the amount of the voluntary contributions This is an evidence of the patriotic spirit of the people; and on looking over the names, most of which had been published, I find the ladies of Chile as distinguished for their patriotic liberality as their countrymen. The tenth item is made up principally of fines and confiscations, imposed on godos, or tories, and their property. It is inevitable and fair, that those whose principles have induced the contest, should abide the loss; but I am very sorry to be obliged to say, that no inconsiderable portion of this amount is derived

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from fines, and the sequestered property of real patriots, who do not happen to belong to the present reigning faction; but, who are, perhaps, still more inimical to the royalits and godos than those in power. It would seem, however, that such is the indiscreet eagerness with which property is seized, under the pretext of disaffection, or such the liberality of the ruling authorities, that a great part of what is seized is restored. The thirteenth item is a toll collected for the repairs of the pass of Putaendo over the Andes. This toll was gathered under the colonial government, and is continued since; but, except the casuchas, there appears to have been very little applied to the improvement of the road. The fourteenth article is the proceeds of the estates of the Jesuits. When the king of Spain expelled that religious order from his dominions, its estates were taken into the hands of government as regal property; and the amount here set down is the proceeds of those estates lying within the reach of the present patriot rulers. The sixteenth item is the proceeds of a duty imposed on all goods required to be weighed by the government. The seventeenth is the amount of a prize, captured by the brig Eagle, a government vessel. The eighteenth is the amount of property, the owner of which is unknown, or the right to which is contested. The government, therefore, holds and uses it, as revenue, until the true owner is discovered, or the right settled. The nineteenth, and last source of revenue specified, is that derived from a discount on the salaries of civil officers. These are the several sources of revenue, and the amount of each, derived from so much of Chile, as is subject to the present patriot authorities.

The same paper will show the various ways in which the receipts of the treasury have been expended. Of the twenty articles of expenditure it sufficiently appears, from the face of them, that the first, second, third, fourth, seventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth, have been incurred to carry on the present war for independence and freedom. The fifth item of expense is what may, in some respects, be deemed a distribution of a small portion of the first fruits of Chile, after the battle of Chacabuco. This sum of new coin, as appears by a report to the delegated supreme director, dated on the first of July, eighteen hundred and seventeen, was thus disposed of: one thousand dollars were given to his excellency the supreme director of Buenos Ayres, Don J. M. Pueyrredon; one thousand to general Belgrano, commander of the Buenos Ayres army of Peru; one thousand to the supreme director of Chile, Don B. O'Higgins, to be distributed among the officers of the army of the south, then under his command near Concepcion; and the other thousand to the commander in chief, general San Martin, to be, in like manner, distributed among the officers of the army in Santiago under his command. The sixth is the amount of debts paid, which were contracted in the first epoch of the patriot government. The eighth is the aggregate amount of pensions and annuities charged upon and payable out of the treasury. A part of these were granted during the government of the vice roy-

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alty. The ninth is the amount of property which had been sequestered; but not being confiscated was, therefore restored. The tenth is the amount of the civil list. The eleventh and seventeenth are two items showing the amount of the rents or annuities and pensions with which the Jeeuit's property was charged. The twelfth item is the amount of expenses incident to the treasury department. The fifteenth specifies the gross amount of the expenses of the national armory in Santiago. The eighteenth is the salaries of the superintendents of the mines.

The nineteeenth item is for defraying the expense of completing the valuable work or canal of Maypu. I have before described the vast importance of water to the valleys of Chile south of the Maule; some of which cannot be watered at all by any artificial means, others have not an abundant supply; and in none is the water so carefully and judiciously distributed as it ought to be. One of the most valuable and interesting of the remaining monuments of Indian ingenuity and improvement in that country, is the Salta del Agua, about five miles to the northeast of the city of Santiago, where a great part of the river Mapocho, on which the city stands, is brought by means of a canal through a gap in the ridge which terminates at and immediately overlooks the city. From this gap, standing on the margin of the Indian canal, and nearly in a level with the valley behind, you have under your view a part of the city, and the fairest portion of the valley of Santiago. The water, on passing the gap, is, one part of it, made to wind along the mountain side, to the north, another to pass along to the south, and the surplus is suffered to leap immediately down its steep side, from eight hundred to a thousand feet almost perpendicular; whence the work takes its name, of the leap of the water. The water of the southern canal turns a grist mill on its way down; and all, after reaching the plain, is poured over it in many directions, so as to irrigate the various vineyards, quintas, gardens, and farms, which are thus rendered astonishingly fruitful. The Spaniards say, that the Salta del Agua remains now as the savages left it more than two centuries and an half ago, without any alteration, and with little repairs. The river Mapocho, a part of whose waters had been thus turned in so useful a direction by the Indians, after passing the city of Santiago, crosses the valley in an easterly direction; then pursuing its course south, along the foot of the opposite ridge, sinks under it, and rising again near Francisco del Monte, hurries into the Maypu, which it finds above Melipilla, after that river had taken leave of the principal cordillera, about twenty miles south of Santiago, and made its way directly east over the valley. Between these two rivers, on a dry swell of the plain, about ten miles south-east of Santiago, the famous battle of Maypu was fought. And this portion of the plains lays so high, for many thousands of acres in extent, that it could not be watered from the small canals of the Mapocho; and, therefore was only used as pasture ground. It is intended by the work of Maypu to bring the waters of that river along the foot of the mountain

in a canal, terminating at the Mapocho, above the city of Santiago, so as to water and render fit for cultivation all these plains, which, anciently as well as lately, have been so celebrated. Such are the works of a people, whether of aboriginal or of foreign descent, who really own a country, and govern and manage it for themselves. The nature of the two last items of expenditure in this account need no explanation.

Among the official printed accounts of the state of the treasury, which have been some times published monthly, from which Mr. Irisarri appears to have copied his No. 4, and made up his succeeding No. 5, I find the official treasury account up to the last of February, 1818, and by adding its gross amount to that of Mr. Irisarri's No. 4, it will give the amount of the first year's receipts and expenditures of the patriot government, reckoning from the battle of Chacobuco, which was fought on the 12th day of February, 1817; according to which it appears that the whole amount of revenue receceived amounts to two millions one hundred and seventy-seven thousand nine hundred and sixty-seven dollars; and the total amount of expenditures, in the same time, has been two millions one hundred and nineteen thousand five hundred and ninety-five dollars; leaving a balance in the treasury of fifty-eight thousand three hundred and seventy-two dollars. This exhibits a view of one year of the war establishment of Chile. To see what would be the state of its finances in peace, according to this same account, we have only to deduct the net amount of the confiscations, the proceeds of the prize, and the sum raised to purchase armes; which, together, amount to one million and ninety-nine thousand six hundred and twenty-four dollars, from the receipts of the year; and we shall have one million and seventy-eight thousand three hundred and forty-three dollars, the receips of the treasury from what appears to be the product of the ordinary system of peace taxation. And, if we then, in like manner, deduct from the gross amount of expenditure all those items which have been manifestly occasioned by the present war, it will appear, that the peace establishment would cost no more, according to the present system, than four hundred and seven thousand two hundred and thirty dollars, which, deducted from the peace receipts, would leave a balance in the treasury of six hundred seventy-one thousand one hundred and thirteen dollars.—This calculation ought not, I should conceive, to be at all affected by what is said to the treasurer's note to No. 5; because, he speaks of charges that will evidently be included in the following year's account. According to these views it would appear, then, that the abilities of Chile to defray the expense of its own government, and to sustain the extraordinary expenditures of a war of defence, are not only very abundant; but, that its usual ordinary resources, in time of peace, would be amply sufficient for all the purposes of roads, canals, and other public works, so valuable in all countries, and which would be, to Chile, of the most incalculable benefit.

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But it would seem, that these formal accounts of the state of the treasury, from time to time published for the information of the people, are not altogether so correct as they should be; that the abilities of Chile have, probably, been strained much beyond what is here represented; and that there have been dispositions of its treasure to a considerable amount over and above those set down. In a communication I had with Mr. Irisarri, on the first of July last, he assured me, that the revenue of Chile had, during the last year, yielded four millions of dollars; and in the written communication now before us, he says, that there are not comprehended in the official account some receipts of much importance, which, by their uncertain nature, ought not to be included in it. In addition to these declarations of the secretary of state, it seemed to be the current opinion and belief, that the last year's revenue had yielded about four millions of dollars. Chile, it was said, was much exhausted, and there had been a clamor that its revenue had been grossly misapplied, which clamor, it was said, caused the resignation of one of the secretaries. It would seem, then, that since the battle of Chacabuco, a sum not far short of two millions of dollars has been gathered up, in some way or other, in what manner I could not learn, and either lays dead in the country, or has been sent out of it. It could not have gone out by fair commerce; because, an exportation of riches in that way, would, instead of exhausting the people and causing them to complain, have benefitted them much. But I need make no farther observations. The facts and circumstances are before you.

Mr. Irisarri has given a statement of what, he says, are the numbers of the veteran forces of Chile, and nothing more. It is of importance, however, that the nature and composition of this veteran force should be understood. Under the first government of the patriots, many who had offended the reigning party, which was at times the Carreras, and at other times the Larrains, with O'Higgins at their head, were banished to the other side of the mountains: and in consequence of these internal divisions, in a great measure, a principal portion of the patriot forces of Chile, under the command of the present director, which had made a stand at the town of Rancagua, were there attacked and defeated by the royalists on the second day of October, 1814, after which the remnant of the patriot forces, with all who could, and deemed it prudent, fled in every direction over the Andes. This defeat of Rancagua closed what is called the first epoch of the patriot government. The Chileno refugees and exiles of all parties rendezvoused at Mendoza. General San Martin, who was then there, made common cause with O'Higgins and the Larrain faction, and undertook to reorganize an army from these motley and shattered materials. He procured arms, and a reinforcement of about two thousand free negroes from Buenos Ayres. O'Higgins was made brigadier general; but almost all the other officers of the army were either citizens of Buenos Ayres, or commissioned and appointed from thence. There was no Chileno officer in it higher than

a captain, except O'Higgins. This army, thus composed, amounting in number to about four thousand, was led over the Andes by general San Martin, through the passes of Putaendo and Patos. With some skirmishing in the pass of Putaendo, but without any material loss, the whole arrived safe in the valley of Aconcagua, near the city of St. Filipe; and pushing forward toward Santiago, it was met by the royal army under the command of Marco, at the foot of the Cuesta, which enters into the valley of Chacabuco. A battle ensued on the twelfth of February, 1816, Marco was captured, and his whole army cut to pieces or made prisoners. Thus the patriots regained Chile. O'Higgins was made supreme director, as he says in his manifesto, by the voice of the capital and the state: but. every one will perceive; that this army, at least had its influence in the appointment.

This army has been occasionally divided and united: its parts have been distinguished by various names; it has sustained many losses and been often recruited; but it has received no aid from abroad; it has been supported, wasted, and strengthed, altogether in Chile: it is now called "the united army of the Andes." As it fell back on the approach of the royal army under the command of Osorio, it was said to have sat down at Cancha-rayada nine thousand five hundred strong. It may have then consisted of that number: But on the night of the nineteenth of March last, it was attacked by the royal army, panic struck, and almost totally dispersed. It rallied again in the valley of Santiago. The royal army under Osorio came up, the troops of which were composed principally of veterans from Spain, that had been transported by the way of Cape Horn to Lima, and thence to Concepcion; and with some Chilotes, and other auxiliaries of the country, was about five thousand strong. The rallied patriot army could not have exceeded, according to any account, six thousand men, almost all raw troops or militia, except the Buenos Ayres negroes. The royalists had a decided advantage of ground, and twelve pieces of artillery more than the patriots. In this situation the two armies met, about ten miles to the southeast of the city of Santiago, on the plains of Maypu; and early on the morning of the fifth of April last a most desperate conflict commenced. The royalists charged fiercely; the negro troops flinched; but the Chilenos, the militia no less than the rest, animated by one invincible fervor of patriotism, with shouts of Vive la Patria, carried all before them, sword in hand, or at the point of the bayonet. The field was litterally strewed with heaps of slain. The combat continued with various fortunes until late in the afternoon. It is said, that, for the numbers engaged there never was a more obstinately contested combat or a more bloody battle fought in any part of the world. Of the royal army, the half were found dead or wounded on the field, and all the rest made prisoners. The loss sustained by the patriot army is estimated at about fifteen hundred. The victory of Maypu has completely confirmed the independence of Chile. Since the battle, many of the troops, who had fled from Cancha-rayada, have been rallied, and there

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has been also many recruits enlisted. Yet, after making all allowances, I could not find, among the citizens, that any one estimated the army at more than six thousand strong on the first of July last. But it may, as Mr. Irisarri states, amount to eight thousand four hundred. Of the officers of the army, there are at present but two Chilenos in it above the rank of captain; the one is the present director who is a brigadier general, under general San Martin, and the other is colonel Raymon Freyre, a native of Santiago, about twenty-three years of age, but confessedly one of the most distinguished officers in the patriot service: he is as modest and unassuming as he is intrepid, and is said to be firmly devoted to the establishment of the liberties as well as to the independence of his country. A part of the united army of the Andes is now in the province of Concepcion, near the enemy, and another part, including the Buenos Ayresnegroes, is in Santiago, as a guard to the capital and the palace.

With regard to the militia, the estimate given by Mr. Irisarri, is of so much of the country as is at present in the power of the patriots. I did not, however, understand, that they had been completely officered or organized. As to arms, they have few or none; and I question whether the government have arms for them over and above those necessary for the regular troops. There are, however, a great many arms in the country belonging to merchants for sale; and the people are, either by purchasing arms for themselves, or by being occasionally exercised in the militia, improving very rapidly in the knowledge and use of arms.

The marine of Chile is made up of those vessels specified in the paper No. 7, attached to Mr. Irisarri's communication. They have been lately purchased, and are altogether officered and manned by foreign seamen, chiefly Americans and English. The brig Aquila, of eighteen guns, has performed some service. She was purchased soon after the battle of Chacabuco. The brig Buenos is of not much value.

Just previous to the battle of Maypu, the English ship Windham, carrying fifty-two guns, then lying in the harbor of Valparaiso, bound on a trading voyage to Botany Bay and India, was purchased by sundry persons, principally Americans and English, in partnership with the government, and commissioned as a Chileno cruiser under the name of the Lautaro. She made one short cruise, in which she had a combat with the two Spanish ships Esmeralda and Pezuela. About the latter end of June last, she was purchased by the government entirely of the individual owners. Since then she has not been completely manned. The Coquimbo was a privateer ready for sea in the beginning of July last, and in that situation purchased by the government. As to the two ships, San Martin and Chacabuco, spoken of in this paper, general San Martin had a consirable sum of money sent over to Buenos Ayres, where he employed Mr. Aguirre and Mr. Gomez, two gentlemen of that city, and placing the funds of Chile in their hands with a commission from it for

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Aguirre, sent them to the United States as agents to contract for the building of two vessels of war; where they arrived and contracted for the building of them in the city of New York. Since then, further sums have been remitted from Chile, through Buenos Ayres; to Messrs. Aguirre and Gomez, to meet the expenses of completely fitting out these ships, which were to be called San Martin and Chacabuco. They had not arrived when I left Valparaiso. As to the privateers of Chile, it has not been long since they commenced their career. Some, it is said, have been successful. A copy of the rules and regulations by which they are to be governed was handed to me by Mr. Irisarri, and accompanies this, marked as exhibit (A). I did not hear, that any acts or conduct contrary to the usual practices, and the laws of nations in such cases, had been imputed to any of these vessels.

It would not, perhaps, be correct to consider either the exports and imports of Chile, during its subjection to the late colonial system, any more than what it has received and sent abroad during the present revolutionary epoch, as an accurate criterion by which, alone, to ascertain the annual value of its commerce, when the whole country shall be united and settled in a state of peace, under one and the same government. But a knowledge of existing facts and circumstances, taken in connexion one with another, will enable us to form some opinions approaching the truth, as to what its real capacity now is and may be in future.

Considering the precious metals, in bullion and in coin, over and above what is necessary to carry on the exchange of the country, as among the articles of its exports, the following is a list of the chief of them at present: gold, silver, copper, tin, wheat, flour, hemp, cordage, hides, tallow, jerked beef, vecuna, guanaco, and chinchilla skins, and several kinds of dried fruit, figs, raisins, &c.

Since the opening of the ports of so much of Chile, in February, 1817, as the patriots obtained possession of, there have arrived twenty-four American vessels, principally ships of two hundred tons and upwards. Of these, four were whale ships, and four others ships engaged in the Sandal wood and northwest coast trade. These ships called, obtained refreshments, and had some little trade. The other sixteen brought cargoes for the Chile market, consisting of arms, ammunition, naval stores, tobacco, iron, furniture, iron hollow ware, British dry goods and crockery, India goods, French goods, and jewelry, which have been, at a reasonable estimate, supposed to be worth one million three hundred and eighty-five thousand dollars. And, during the same period of time, there arrived twenty British vessels, one on a whaling voyage, and one bound to the northwest coast, and eighteen with cargoes, either from the river Plate, with articles collected there, as yerba, tobacco, &c. or from Europe; but chiefly with British goods. The total amount of their cargoes has been pretty fairly estimated at about one million eight hundred and thirty-five thousand dollars. Many of these vessels, as well Americans as British, had left Chile in July last; others still remained there; and it was

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estimated that neither the Americans nor English had, at that time, collected much more than half the returns for the imports. Besides these, there had arrived in the same time two Russian ships, one Swedish, one French, and one merchantman from Buenos Ayres in ballast, which was sold there and fitted out as a privateer. The British have, it is said, for a long time, had a ship of war on the coast of Chile, for the protection of their trade. The British frigate Amphion left Valparaiso in February last; and in May the sloop of war Blossom, and soon after her the frigate Andromache arrived on the coast. The Blossom had sailed to Columbia river, and the Andromache was at Lima on the fifteenth July last.

The whole amount of imports into that portion of Chile held by the patriots during the last year, as well over the Andes as by sea, has been estimated at little short of four millions of dollars; of which two millions, it is believed, have come from England; one from the United States, and one from Buenos Ayres: while, during the same period of time, it is supposed there has not been exported from the country, including specie, more than about two millions; which, at present, leaves an apparent balance against it of half the whole amount of its imports. This is owing to two causes: in the first place, according to the colonial system and course of trade, which is continued with few alterations, merchandise imported was never sold, so as, within the year, to place the returns in the hands of the importer; because, if he was a foreigner, as has uniformly been the case, latterly, he was not, nor is he now, allowed to retail them himself: or, as the law has defined what shall be considered retail, by reference to a mule load, to sell any package, two of which are equal to a mule load, or in other words to sell a package of less than two hundred pounds weight. And, according to the former custom of the country, no retailer would take more than what he immediately wanted. This precautionary and dilatory custom has increased with the late precarious revolutionary times. The consequence has been, that as great an amount of goods has not been vended as might have been if the actual demands of the people had been gratified. The other cause is, that in anticipation of the market, without a correct knowledge of the wants and taste of the people, a greater amount of some articles has been introduced than was, for the present, wanted; and a considerable amount of others has been imported, which are utterly unsaleable. Hence, in some respects, commerce has not yet completed its circuit; the goods are unsold, still lying in the hands of the foreign merchant: the country is not indebted for them; and, therefore, the balance, of trade is not so much against Chile as would at first appear.

As regards foreign commerce, the market of Chile may be considered as being yet untried, unexplored, and but very imperfectly known. Many things are getting into use, and the demand for others increases as the people become better acquainted with their utility. There are some few articles of the growth or manufacture of the United States, which have been found to answer, as saddlery, windsor chairs

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furniture, tobacco, and some others: of the European fabrics, those of France and Germany are greatly preferred. It has been remarked, that even the miserable casuchas of the Huasos are beginning to exhibit some conveniences of foreign fabric, which, until the opening of the ports of their country, were unknown to them. Indeed, I presume it will be regarded as one of the inevitable consequences of the present revolution, that, as the comforts and conveniencies of the mass of the people shall be substantially improved by it, their wants will be multiplied, and their capacity to pay for them proportionably augmented.

In estimating the powers of a state, we naturally look first at its physical qualities; the salubrity of its climate; the fertility of its soil; the means of intercourse by which one district may aid and supply another; the nature of its productions; and how its population is seated; whether crowded into a small space or sparcely scattered over a great tract. These, and such circumstances, are necessary to be known in order to form a just opinion of the capacities and energies of a people. I have, therefore, endeavored to present you with a clear view of all these matters as regards Chile. But, the human institutions of a country, though not so indelible and unchangeable, are often no less powerful in their operation than those physical qualities. Superstition spreads over the social visage the sickly hue of pestilential vapours, and the hands of arbitrary drones disappoint the hopes of the harvest like the rust or a mildew. In a salubrious climate, amidst the abundance of agricultural pursuits, and with the advantage of a condensed population, if any where, it would seem, that there life should have all its gaiety, its delights, and its value; that there all the social ties should be most strongly felt; and that there human excellencies should be most fully developed: but, a Mayrasgo, a Monk, and a regal superior, shall be permitted to walk hand in hand over this goodly scene, and they will gather up all its abundance, banish its festivities, and leave it like a barren, but inhabited waste, a scene of beggary, of squalid raggedness, and filth; where the human creature, inspirited by no motive, and lost to every sentiment of his own dignity and worth, shall value nothing so much as a long interval of repose: and a modern philosopher, unmindful of christian feeling, shall look upon such creature, so circumstanced, and in a spirit of what, by some, might be deemed philosophical liberality, at once pronounce him utterly unfit for liberty. All human institutions, which, in their operations and consequences, paralyze human industry, or waste and consume its fruits, are most serious evils. Their pernicious effects are always severely felt; and they never fail to abstract from the capacities of a nation, to enfeeble it more effectually than war, famine, or a plague. All colonial establishments are ruinous to a colony; because, they gather up the wealth of the country, regardless of the beneficial reciprocity of fair commerce, and send it abroad. An ecclesiastical establishment consumes the productions of a country within itself, yielding no return. It is like a rot in the earing of the corn. They are both of them political evils of a similar nature. The one Chile

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has banished forever; the other has been shook and loosened, but it yet remains.

The church, in all the Spanish possessions in America, was well provided for: in Chile particularly so. There are said to be about ten thousand monks and nuns in the whole country; that is, of the class called regular clergy, in contradistinction to the seculars. The religious institutions filled by these regular clergy, are said to hold, in one way or other, either in absolute proprietorship, or charged with the payment of annual sums, or corrodies, or under mortgages, nearly one third of the landed property of the state. The lands of the religious houses held in absolute proprietorship are usually rented by a person, who again under-lets them to other tenants, who hire slaves and huasos or peasants and cultivate them, as a sort of terre-tenants or stewards. Thus, two sets of drones are supported from its profits: the monkish proprietors, and the mesne tenants, neither of whom ever pay any other attention to the estate than to collect the rents when due. The effect upon agriculture and society, of suffering a great portion of the land of a country to be held in mortmain, is well understood, and in Chile it is quite obvious. In addition to the landed estates held by the religious institutions, they have what are called their censos, or money lent out on interest of five per cent. per annum, to the amount of ten millions of dollars; and besides their share of the tithes, which the state still permits them to draw, the clergy have the first fruits or anatos, which yield to each curate between two and three hundred dollars per annum. When we contemplate this prodigious wealth of the church of Chile, compared with the revenues of the state, and recollect the searching prevalency of pecuniary influence, we shall at once see the full force of the Spanish saying, that, in that country, "it is doubtful whether the state be in the church, or the church in the state."

The present patriot authorities, owing to the nature of revolution itself, to their prodigality, to their having too many hungry expectants about them, or to some other causes, are continually pressed for resources: they have repeatedly cast an eye upon the accommodations and the wealth of the church. They have solemnly asked the opinion of the holy fathers as to the propriety and policy of raising a considerable sum of money by the sale of bulls and indulgencies; and were answered, that neither right nor religion would forbid it: they have seized upon two large monasteries, turned out the monks to seek accommodation elsewhere among their brethren, and made barracks of the holy lodgings: they have taken the house of exercise, that is, the large edifice where the faithful used to resort to receive the pious instruction of the fathers, and to punish the body for the good of the soul, and converted it into an armory: they have tried and convicted monks and *nuns* of high treason and sent them into banishment; and, some months ago, urged by their continual pecuniary necesities, they proposed merely to borrow the censos of the monasteries, and accordingly instituted an inquiry into their

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amount; and thus ascertained, that, in the bishoprick of Santiago, they rose to about six millions of dollars; and in the bishoprick of Concepcion they were in amount about four millions. The church clamored prodigiously at this most unholy attempt to touch the support of religion. The state, however, made out to relieve itself from its exigences, in some other way, and for the present abstained from borrowing the ecclesiastical censos: but a fair and general tax has been laid on all church property.

The Spanish chiefs or vice roys, under whose auspices Chile was conquered, made very extensive grants of its territory among their principal followers and favorites; or, actuated by the religious fervor of the times, they made settlements of whole valleys, or the most choice and extensive tracts, upon some religious houses, or for some pious purposes. The lands thus granted to the religious institutions being held in mortmain were inalienable; and those large tracts granted to individuals were commonly entailed, and transmitted entire, as fettered inalienable inheritances, according to the principles of the Spanish law of primogeniture called mayorazgo. The expression often used in an original grant, as descriptive of the tract conveyed, will give an idea of their extent: they were, that the grantor should have and hold all the tract within the water falls, from such a point to such another point: these expressions, not unfrequently, by thus calling for the circumjacent ridges as the confines, comprehended the greater part of a large valley; so that the mayorazgo might stand on his estate, and behold its outlines and boundaries, like an immense circumvalation thrown up by the hand of nature all around. The effect upon husbandry, commerce, and the state of society generally, of suffering these fettered inheritances, to continue in any country, are well known. It is said that their effects have been extremely pernicious in Chile. The present director has, however put an end to them. By his ediet of the fifth of June last, all mayorazgos are forever abolished and prohibited in future.

Before the revolution there never was a printing press in Chile; nor did any science reach it but what was carefully passed through the sieves and strainers of the Holy Inquisition of Madrid, or the no less Holy Inquisition of Lima. The taste for intellectual pleasures was every where suffocated or religiously restrained; and the charms and heresies of modern literature were permitted, in no shape, to lead the faithful Chilenos astray. The press, until within these few years, was a machine of as much entire novelty and curiosity to the people of that country as any other of the useful mechanical inventions of modern times: its powers and its value were unknown; and the earthly immortality which it bestows upon the labors of virtue and genius, was a matter wholly beyond their conception. The press is, however, no more than the great instrument by which all human knowledge may be speedily and extensively diffused, and easily multiplied, renewed, and perpetuated. But it never has nor can it be used as a machine to create a talent for discussion and investigation, or to arouse a people to

an assertion of their rights, whose minds have not been previously impressed with a knowledge of letters, and also been imbued with a talent for discussion. The first revolutionary impulses, on such a people, like those made on the Romans in the time of the elder Brutus, or on the English at Runnymead, or on the Swiss in the days of Tell, or on the Spaniards who followed the fortunes of Padilla, must be from other causes and by other means than through the instrumentality of the press. And, perhaps, I should not be wrong in observing, that the first and most successful revolutionary impulses in favor of liberty, in all ages and countries, have not been those made by that cool but potent instrument of reason; but by those animating strokes, which, falling directly upon the heart, and on the sentiments and feelings of the bosom arouse passions sufficiently strong to burst all bonds and to encounter all perils. Such is the impulse which has been given to Chile: and the Spaniards will long remember, that on the plains of Maypu at least, the sentiments and feelings of Chilenos were kindled to deeds of noble daring, far beyond all ordinary power of resistance. After a people have thus had their passions and sentiments completely unfettered, the influence of the press gently follows, as a reasoning friend, who dilligently instructs the head and justifies the feelings of the heart. The press has, as yet, therefore, had little or no effect in Chile, nor is its operation likely to become, immediately and at once, extensive and powerful, under any circumstance in which it could now be placed, owing to the previous habits and education of the present generation of the people.

The Christian religion, as has been justly observed, is, in all its various forms, essentially an intellectual mode of worship. All its different sects more or less, inculcate the communion of mind with infinitely amiable and benevolent mind. Its fundamental principles, therefore, correctly understood, are exceedingly friendly to the cultivation of the intellect. But a contrast of the catholic establishment in Chile, with the establised church and toleration of our country, under its colonial system, will show how extremely different the effect and consequences of the same divine emanations may be, in proportion as they are mingled or offusated with the sordid objects of governments and of men. The rival sects in our country, as well as the church of the state, which was itself a deviation from the older establishment, made the cultivation of the mind, and exercise of the intellect essentially necessary, as well for the pastor as for each of his flock. To set forth the correctness and the excellence of his creed; and to expose the errors of others, which he deemed it a solemn duty to instruct his followers to avoid, continually called on the preacher for an intellectual effort, and imposed on him a ceaseless task of reasoning.

The church was thus made to every hearer a school of polemical exercise, as well as a house of adoration and prayer. The colonist of our country thus had his mind imperceptibly enlarged and invigorated, his polemical skill continually improved, and his reason-

ing faculties sharpened and prepared for political as well as religious subjects. On the other hand, the established church of Chile tolerates no rival, suffers nothing like religious controversy, and is itself the congregated original, whose creed suggests no inquiry, nor challenges any investigation. The mind hears the dogma dictated, which it is commanded to believe, without daring to doubt, or presuming to ask a question. Men are faithful, but not rational believers: the rich and shining ceremonies of the church glitter before their senses: they yield reverence from habit; and their minds, overshadowed with a gloomy obeisance, rest content in a kind of irrational silence. The catholic religion itself is better understood in our country; because, its principles are discussed and explained, and much has been published in its vindication. But in Chile it is never controverted, seldom expounded, and stands in need of no vindication. It is upheld by power. The people comply with its ceremonies without presuming to question their meaning; and, consequently, the great mass of them understand little of the principles of the religion they profess. Hence, from this cause among others, in our country the first revolutionary blow aroused multitudes of the most adroit veterans in argument, whose reasoning powers attracted the admiration of the world. But the Chileno, with awakened feelings as keen and as strong, and animated by a courage as determined and invincible, is, as yet, a stranger to mental struggle, and political controversy.

Soon after the commencement of the revolution, in the year eighteen hundred and eleven; when the Carrera party was in power, a printing press was imported from New York, which was set up and managed by three citizens of the United States, who went with it, and a weekly newspaper was published called the Aurora, edited by Camilla Henriquez, now of Buenos Ayres. This was the first newspaper ever published in Chile. After the Carreras were put out, and the party now in power obtained the ascendency, the paper was called Arauco, and it was edited by Mr. Irisarri, the present secretary of state. Since then, there has been continually a newspaper published in Chile. But it has always been under the absolute control of the reigning party. Some one dared to say; that the victory of Chacobuco had been gained chiefly by the brave efforts of the sons of Chile; and, by an edict of the present director, of the fourteenth of March, 1817, the printer was commanded to give up the name of the author, that he might be punished as a libeller, who designed to excite jealousies in the minds of Chilenos, against the generous defenders of their liberties from Buenos Ayres. There are, at present, four weekly newspapers published in Santiago; none any where else in the State. The Ministerial Gazette, a government paper, formally made such on the second day of May, 1818, and placed under the management of the secretary of state; El Argos, El Duende, and El Sol, each issuing once a week; and all of which are printed at one, and the same press, belonging to the government; are un-

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derstood to be edited by the clerks and officers of government, and are wholly subservient to the powers that be. There are two other printing presses in the country, which were carried there by citizens of the United States, for sale; but, they are not found to be saleable articles.

The present director, on the twenty-fifth of June, eighteen hundred and eighteen, issued an edict, exempting all newspapers and pamphlets from postage, and allowing all books to be imported free of duty. Thus, light may begin to break in. But there is a fellowship and a social principle in human rights, which prompts each to cherish and sustain the other. Nothing can prevent the introduction of the representative system; for the hearts of the people are bent upon it; that will draw after it discussion: the press is the very chief instrument of investigation; and when a people begin, with that help, to think, to inquire, and to vote, their advancement must inevitably be very rapid; unless their country be distracted and devastated by foreign foes. Thanks to Heaven! there are few hereditary enemies to reform on this continent; none which surround Chile; and not many on the globe who have strength and length of arm to strike it: not one that can subdue it.

The greater part of the Europeans who settled in Chile, are said, by some, to have emigrated from the southern provinces of Spain. But there is a tradition in the country, that, immediately after the barbarous wars conducted by the duke of Alva in the Netherlands, many of the adherents of Philip 2d of that country, emigrated to Chile. But, from whatever portion or province of Europe they have principally derived their descent, every stranger, acquainted with other Spanish settlements in America, at once remarks the fairness of the complexion of the Chilenos of unmingled European descent, blue eyes and fair hair are common. Perhaps a regular mountain climate has rather given prevalency, and cleared than darkened the fine complexion of the first European settlers. It is among this class that all the intelligence of the country is found; who are said to be in general much better acquainted with ancient than modern literature. And, as in every other Spanish settlement, all the most respectable land owners are residents of the cities, and do not dwell on their estates in the country.

When Chile was conquered, the natives who survived the war and submitted to their invaders, had a portion of land allotted to them, which was called the Indian Pueblo, or town: all the rest was parcelled out among the new comers. There was in almost every valley, a Pueblo of peaceful and submissive Indians: Besides these there were, throughout the country, many Indians held as slaves, whose descendants, held in slavery at this time, are said to amount to about fifty thousand. The mixture with those of the European race, in and about the Indian towns, is so general, and the population has been so blended and whitened in them, that, in the project of a constitution presented to the congress of the first period of the patriot

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government, it was proposed to consider them as a portion of the people, entitled to all the privileges of citizens. The Húasos, or peasentry of the country, are all of this mixed class: they are universally illiterate and indolent; but kind, docile, brave, and humane. Previous to the arrival of the Buenos Ayres negro auxiliaries, there were not, in all Chile, one thousand of the African race, bond and free. By a law passed during the first epoch of the patriot government, the children of all slaves born after that date, were declared free from their birth. This law, suspended by the return of the royalists, has been since held to be in force. Upon the whole, it is universsally admitted, that the population of Chile has less of the African blackening, has a smaller proportion of slaves, and is, altogether, more homogeneous, than any other of all Spanish America.

But the order and arrangement of nature in Chile, according to some plausible theories, is such as will have a strong tendency to inculcate that animated love of country, which, in its legal and ecclesiastical institutions, there has been manifested so much anxiety to crush and destroy. Liberty is sometimes called a mountain nymph; yet mountanious countries have been often enslaved and subjected to arbitary government. But when liberty does, in such countries, once obtain a habitation and a name, it rises and flourishes with more vigor than in most others.

There is an inspiring genius in the mountain scenery of Greece, which prompted its ancient owners to assign a guardian divinity to reign over the grandeur of every lofty eminence, and to protect the beauties of every valley. They admired and rejoiced over the gay diversities of their country, and where patriotic, Switzerland presents a similar scenery, which operates so powerfully in binding the affections of the inhabitants to it, that the Swiss love of country is not only an ardent sentiment, but under some circumstances, a preying infirmity. In ancient Rome, the annual festival of the Terminalia called the proprietors, cultivators, and persantry, to the fields at the most enlivening season of the year to offer sacrifices and make libations to the god of boundaries, to ask a blessing on the fruits of the earth, and to make a religious processioning of their lands. This gay festival cherished the social feelings; by anticipating, it prevented, controversy; and it filled and warmed the bosom with an ardent love of country. Amidst the mountain regions of Greece, of Swisserland, and of Chile, nature herself leads out the inhabitants of each valley to an annual terminalia. The mountain boundary is gaily decorated; the streams pour down their libations on the fruits of the earth: they flourish and are blessed: the inhabitants rejoice over the coming abundance; their affections are warmed, and they are thus inspired with an animating love for their country. An intelligent civilian of Santiago has called his country the Swisserland of America: it is so in scenery; it is so in bravery; and why should there not be William Tells among Chilenos; who will, ere long, lead the mountain nymph

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triumphant through the land, and give her welcome and a home in every valley?

Without travelling through a long historical detail of events, it will be sufficient to observe, that, in Chile as in Buenos Ayres, the moving causes of the revolution were not the oppressions of the Spanish monarchy. The people of Chile were not first awakened by persecutions and sufferings to a sense of their power and their rights: they had always been quiet for more than two centuries and an half. The united vigilance and cares of church and state, had tamed every restless spirit, and checked every wayward thought. The rulers and the pastors of the people had diligently removed every hope of liberty, and passive obedience had become a habit. When the wars arising out of the French revolution, involving and disturbing all the nations of Europe, overwhelmed the peninsula of Spain, drove the ancient dynasty from the throne, produced a struggle for the sceptre, and broke loose at once those carious bonds of mere prejudice and superstition, which held the various parts of that great monarchy together; such was the state of the mother country, that it was manifest the colonies could no longer be governed as formerly. Each one, consequently; began calmly to think of self-government, not as a matter to which it had been excited and persecuted, nor in a spirit of rebellion, but as a deplorable act of necessity, in obedience to a melancholy fatality, which had rent asunder the several parts of a great empire, that had been, until then, so quietly and happily united.

The junta or congress, assembled in Chile, in eighteen hundred and ten, was much influenced by this view of the subject, and by a strong sentiment in favor of the mother country. But there were many men in it, and in the country, of much capacity and intelligence, who clearly saw, at that day, that the only alternative allowed to it, was absolute independence or colonial despotism; who admired the political example and precepts of the United States, and who regarded that as the favorable moment for giving a new and improving direcrection to the destinies of their country, which ought not, for a moment, to be lost. At the head of this party was the venerable, but unfortunate Don Ignacio Carrera and his sons. There was another party who, swayed by old prejudices, were disposed to compromise. Don Juan Egana, a lawyer of eminence, and who is one of the commissioners appointed by the present director to draft a constitution for the state, was of this party. He drew up a project of a constitution in the year eighteen hundred and eleven, and submitted it to the congress, then in session, who ordered it to be published for information and discussion. In this project, which asserts, that Chile should have a government of its own, free trade, &c. the idea of a political reunion with Spain, and the other provinces of America, when circumstances would admit, is provided for and continually held out.

Thus the minds of the people began, for the first time to be awakened. They were thus looking round, and slowly taking a survey of their circumstances and their interests, when civil war, with all its fury,

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rushed into their country along with the preparations for political inquiry and discussion. The agitation was great: the people staggered, changed, and faultered. They had the courage, but not having the information and the means of concert, at once to assume a correct course and maintain it, they were distracted, divided, and beaten.

The party now in power, and who, it would seem, had then, as now, a great respect for the British, were induced by the English captain Hillyar, of the ship of war, Phoebe, then lying in Valparaiso, to compromise with the royalists. "But who would believe," says the present director, in his manifesto of the twelfth of February, eighteen hundred and eighteen, "that in a crisis as favorable to our enterprises as melancholy to the self-styled *national* army, the capipitulations of the third of May, eighteen hundred and fourteen, would have been made? It is necessary to explain to wipe away the shame: suffice it to recollect, that it was ratified by our government, guarantied by the mediation of commodore Hillyar, with the authorities of the viceroy of Peru, accepted by the commander of the troops from Lima: ours retired, restored to the enemy the prisoners, and obliged the people to acknowledge the peace so solemnly published." After thus making peace, as they supposed, with the enemy, they were attacked anew by the royal or national army, and on the second of October, eighteen hundred and fourteen, entirely defeated at Rancagua. The remnant of the patriot forces fled over the Andes, where, with other Chileno refugees and the two negro regiments, and the officers from Buenos Ayres, they were reorganized under the name of the United Army of the Andes, re-entered Chile, vanquished the enemy at Chacabuco, and thus regained their power. In June last a commissioner arrived in Santiago from Lima, charged with a proposition from the vice roy of Peru to adjust an exchange of prisoners of war; and, on inquiry, it was found, that all the Chileno prisoners that had been taken by the royalists, having been placed upon the island of Juan Fernandez, were released by the patriots after the battle of Chacabuco, and, consequently, that there were now few or none in their hands. But the patriot government of Chile had, on the one side or the other of the Andes, eight thousand of the royalists prisoners of war, which they were willing the Buenos Ayres authorities should exchange for those of the United Provinces in the possession of the vice roy. No cartel of exchange was, however, agreed on, owing to some informal or contemptuous style in which the patriot authorities had been addressed.

This short statement of the chief causes and course of the Chileno revolution, will be further illustrated by the declaration of the present director, dated on the first of January, eighteen hundred and eighteen, (annexed, and marked D) and by that of the twelfth of February following, (annexed, and marked E) and which, together with his manifesto of the fifth of May last, will furnish an outline of the course of events: they will show, that a brave people are now unanimously resolved on independence and liberty; that they have boldly

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met, vanquished, and captured, in succession, almost every man of two well appointed veteran armies, that had been sent against them, leaving none of either to return upon their country; and that they have determined to adopt the representative system of government. For, in the proclamation of the first of January, the director declares "that the then actual circumstances of the war would not allow of the convocation of a congress:" in that of the twelfth of February, he says, "it has been wished to delay the calling of a congress, so difficult to be gathered together during the effervescence of war!! And makes a solemn pledge, that a congress of the representatives of the people shall be called as soon as circumstances will admit. In his manifesto of the fifth of May he declares, that arrangements are making for introducing the representative system; that a committee has been appointed to draft a constitution on that basis; and he has issued his edict actually making the appointment. All which are acknowledgments and proofs, if indeed proofs were wanting, of the anxious and unanimous wishes of the people, and of the existence of a design somewhere to pacify or elude the gratification of those wishes. This strong and and general popular desire to have a congress called, thus, under various pretexts, postponed, parried, or evaded, must soon prevail. It not only pervades the minds of the citizens generally, but, since the victory of Maypu, it has begun to spread along all the ranks of the Chilenos of the army. The much talked of invasion and liberation of Peru is a project plausible and popular enough; but it draws off the attention of none from the great object of having a congress at home. The restraint of some, the banishment of others, and even the destruction of one of the active advocates of the call of a congress, has rather served to excite and to irritate, than to quiet, the minds of the people. A congress will, ere long, be convened, and the work of reformation then really be commenced; awkwardly and unintelligently at first no doubt, and, perhaps, passionately; but the revolution will move on, often checked and diverted from its best course, as all others have been, by the working off of the pernicious old leaven of kingcraft and priestcraft, to the attainment of much good and substantial freedom ultimately.

The movements of the military leaders, and the position in which they have left the patriot forces under their command, has, in the judgment of some, been so contrary to every thing like military skill, zealously directed for the good of the cause; as to cast a shade of obscurity and mystery over all the affairs of state. The same observations are made on this subject in Buenos Ayres as in Chile. Why, it is asked, are not the militia of the high provinces attached to the union, and who are so extremely zealous in the cause, furnished with arms? It is said that the Gauchos, under the command of Guemez, are more than a match for all the Guerilla parties of the royalists in that quarter; and also, that the people of Potosi, Chuquisaca, and their neighborhood, are resolved on independency and freedom. If so, it is asked, why are not Belgrano and Guemez or-

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dered to press forward toward Peru, and leave arms with the people in their rear, to protect themselves in case of need, instead of remaining so long stationary near Salta? Why is an army of twenty-five hundred men, principally freed negroes, left in the city of Buenos Ayres, when no enemy threatens it, and only three thousand sent under Belgrano to the frontiers to face the national foe? Why not arm the militia of the capital and its vicinity for its temporary defence, in a moment of emergency, such as that of the late attack of the English, and send the regular forces to the frontier? In Chile similar observations and inquiries are made. Almost immediately after the battle Chacabuco, San Martin, the commander in chief, instead of pursuing the enemy to the walls of Concepcion, and closely investing him there, if no more could be done, or of instantly and vigorously pursuing the royal forces in every direction, and of destroying the adhesions to the old system wherever to be found, left the army in Santiago, and went over to Buenos Ayres, and staid there so long, that when he returned, the royal forces were recruited and prepared for the siege which he then laid to the city of Concepcion. The battle of Maypu was fought on the fifth of April, and about ten days after, instead of leading the veteran African auxiliaries of Buenos Ayres, with the brave Coquimbos and Aconcaguas, instantly towards Concepcion, and laying siege to it, cutting off all its supplies, the Aconcaguas were sent home, the Coquimbos to the neighborhood of Penco, and the negro regiments quartered in Santiago, while San Martin again made a visit to Buenos Ayres, where he still remained in the middle of July last, concerting measures, according to some reports, for the invasion of Peru.

It is said, that this invasion can only be made with certainty of success by sea; and, that ships of war and transports must be procured for the purpose. The chiefs say, that in the bustle and effervescence of warlike preparations and efforts, the representative system, and the excellent political institutions they intend giving to Chile, cannot be adjusted on a correct firm basis; and, therefore, this great work must be postponed until the patriot forces have taken possession of Lima. On the other hand, distinct intimations are heard among the people of Chile, that while the military chiefs are celebrating their triumps in Lima, they will occupy themselves in founding the represetative system of government for their country. Not more than one third of the population of Peru are whites of unmixed blood; a great majority of them, are, however, ripe for revolution, and desirous to throw off the colonial yoke: but the other two-thirds are negroes and mulattoes, bond and free; many of whom are wealthy, and have been as well instructed and educated as the whites. Hence the whites, friendly to a revolution, are afraid, alone, to make the least effort for emancipation, lest they should kindle the latent flame of a servile war. They are, therefore, it is said, determined to wait the arrival of the forces of their brethren of the south or the

east, who may be ready to extinguish the dreaded flame should it break out.

Whether the movements of the military leaders are the result of mere ignorance or imbecility, or whether they are made with a design to procrastinate the war, so as to continue a pretext for holding the country, by means of the army, under their control, and with a design to crush the rising spirit of republicanism, which accumulates and gathers strength with the progress of independence, is not positively known; but, some burning jealousies have been lighted up on both sides of the Andes. What will be the consequence, when the patriot forces shall plant the standard of independence in the Plaza of Lima, is also problematical. It would, evidently, contribute to the final and secure establishment of the independence of Buenos Ayres, as well as Chile, to expel all royal authority from Lima. But when a military leader from Buenos Ayres or Chile shall make himself master of Lima, what will then be the consequence to Peru itself; and what may, in a short time, be the nature of the reaction from thence on Buenos Ayres and Chile, of such a chief established there, and believed there to be necessary to prevent the flames of a servile war from bursting out, are questions which time alone can solve?

The colonial government of Chile, like that of all the other Spanish provinces, was a simple unqualified despotism, in which the people had neither voice nor influence, such as I have described that of Buenos Ayres to have been. Don Bernado O'Higgins, tells us in his manifesto of the fifth of May last, that, after the expulsion of the royrlists, "The first step was to nominate a person who might be charged with the executive government in circumstances so difficult; that the capital of Santiago called him to that station by the universal acclamation of its inhabitants; and that, that voice had been uniformly followed by the provinces and the people of the state; that he entered on the administration, and already knew that it is only by a vigorous and energetic government, that tranquillity and order can be maintained, and the public mind prepared to receive convenient institutions." Whether his excellency was called to the supremacy of the state by the people of the capital, or of Chile, in reality, or by the Buenos Ayres chiefs of the army, I shall leave others to determine; but certain it is, that the much more loud call of the people, latterly, for a congress, does not appear to have been so distinctly heard, or it has not been so willingly attended to. The supreme director, O'Higgins, has taken possession of the palace of the ex-vice-king, which he has now guarded principally by the Buenos Ayres negro regiments. Finding himself invested with all the powers of a vice-king, without the control of a royal master, he uses his authority accordingly; and the government of Chile is, in other respects, organized as it was under the colonial system.

Upon the whole, when I reflect upon the circumstances and state of things in Chile, a million or more of agriculturalists gathered in-

to the small compass of its delightful valleys; a population so homogeneous as to leave no ground even to suspect the existence of any latent cause of civil feud or servile war; a people extremely ignorant; but, like all villages of agriculturalists, easily instructed and susceptible of rapid improvement; secure among mountains, and far remote from the contending potentates of modern times, yet seated immediately along the margin of the ocean; a country that has hitherto been debarred of all the benefits of foreign intercourse, but which, from the nature of its productions, will command a choice of commerce; I am strongly impressed with a belief, that the day is not distant when it will, in spite of faction and craft, and the occasional risings of the leaven of its late institutions, be admired and respected by the nations of the earth as another of the firmly established republics of our continent; when she will stand like another young Minerva, with her back against a wall; that wall the mighty snow-capt cordelleras of the Andes, looking with mild composure upon an ocean which presents to her a new world of commerce, which will be navigated by no rival; which is too distant for the hostilities of the angry nations of Europe to reach, and whose placid surface is seldom visited by a storm. Thus stationed, she will be only accessible by way of her high brown coast, neither fearing nor being feared by foreign nations, making all welcome to her bold shores, and pouring out her abundance and her riches, to all who want and seek to obtain them by the just and peaceful ways of fair commerce.

I have, so far, confined my inquiries to Chile itself; and the interests which the United States have in its independence and freedom appear to be, in themselves, sufficiently important to attract the serious attention of our country; the subject however, enlarges as we approach, and there opens before us an extensive and fruitful field, not confined to Chile alone. yet evidently connected with it. The free access to that great bread country of the other hemisphere, lays open channels of trade hitherto closed against us, and cherishes and sustains every other branch of all our rich, profitable, and increasing commerce of the Pacific, which heretofore encountered so many privations and perils. I shall take the liberty merely to make a sketch of those branches of trade, and their probable value, which must inevitably be either opened, cherished, or enlarged, in consequence of the independence of Chile; leaving it to others who are more fully informed to determine on the correctness of the facts and circumstances I shall relate, and to say what will be the new state of things most likely to arise out of them.

I have endeavored to give an idea of the amazing fruitfulness of the valleys of Chile in wheat. I did so, because I was impressed with the belief, that its grain fields are now destined to become the means of its happiest improvement, its most rapid prosperity, and

its inexhaustible sources of wealth. Chile is now, and must, from the nature of things, continue to be, the great granary of all the countries fronting on the shores of the Pacific and south Atlantic ocean of this continent. In this supply it can have no rival; and now, that the doors of its commerce are thrown open, the demand for Chile grain has already so extended, that the price has risen, notwithstanding its old colonial market has been, and will, for a while longer, be entirely shut up. None of the tropical regions of America, either on the Atlantic or Pacific shores, produce wheat, or indeed any bread stuff, in sufficient abundance for their inhabitants.

In Brazil there is no wheat cultivated, nor is there any portion of it, on navigable waters, suited to its growth, except it be the plains on the Rio Grande de St. Pedro, immediately bordering on the Banda Oriental, to which it is similar in its its nature, and at present is like it, applied solely to the purposes of grazing. All the fresh beef presented in the market of the city of Rio Janeiro, at this time, is drawn from Rio Grande. The Portuguese value that part of their Brazilian territory very much, on account of its furnishing an abundant and cheap supply of jerk and fresh beef to those other portions of it, which, as they conceive, are so much more profitably employed in rearing the tropical productions of coffee, sugar, cocoa, and the like. It is not likely, therefore, that wheat will soon be cultivated for sale in any part of Brazil; it must, consequently, be supplied from abroad. Heretofore it has procured some from the United States, and from the Mediterranean, as far as Odessa or Ochakow, on the Euxine: but latterly there has been several American and English ships, laden with wheat at Valparaiso for Rio Janeiro, which yielded a good profit. Brazil may, therefore, be considered as one of the standing markets for Chile wheat.

I have described the Pampas of Buenos Ayres, and from all I could learn of the actual experiments, that have been made on them, I cannot believe their grain productions will soon be brought to rival those of Chile any where: on the contrary, the population on the shores of the river Plate have, of late, received occasional supplies from Chile; and the Banda Oriental seems also, from the character, and situation of its present owners, to be destined to continue as pasture grounds for some ages to come. As a proof of the extent and value of the market on the coast of the South Atlantic, wheat was at a higher price under all the embarrassments of trade in Valparasio in July last, with these new markets only open, than it ever was under the colonial system, when the trade of Chile was confined entirely to Peru.

But the great, constant, and increasing demand for Chile wheat, is to be found on the shores of the Pacific. At present, there is no island, in the north or south of all that great Ocean; nor any civilized settlement on the shores of the continent, which either cultivates, or is suited to the growth of wheat, other than Chile. California, it is said, will one day be a grain country, and I have understood, that

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small quantities have been purchased there, by some of our north-west-coast traders. But it will be unnecessary to inquire into the ability of California to rival Chile, any where, until it shall be settled, civilized, and cultivated. Under present circumstances, which are not likely to be altered by any revolution now in agitation, or that may probably soon take place, it may be confidently asserted, therefore, that the whole of the settlements on the coast of the Pacific, from Acapulco to Cobija, are entirely dependent upon Chile for bread; and that they do, in almost all respects, as regards supplies of bread and necessaries, stand in the same relation to Chile, that the West Indies do to the United States. Although the table lands, near the city of Mexico, produce as abundantly and as fine grain as any in the world, yet owing to the distance and the ruggedness of the way, flour is sent cheaper from Baltimore than from Mexico to Vera Cruz; and, for the same reason precisely, Acapulco can be supplied with flour from Valparaiso, cheaper than from the plains of Mexico. But the existing state of things has furnished conclusive proof of the correctness of this statement. The last crop of grain, just before harvest, in the territory of Penco, and in the neighborhood of the city of Concepcion, was laid waste for the purpose of cutting off the supplies from the royal army: no wheat was therefore, exported from Talcahuano, and the war completely closed all communication between the patriot portion of Chile and Peru. In consequence of which, wheat which could in June last, be put on board a vessel in the harbor of Valparasio for two dollars the fanega (seventy-five cents the bushel,) had risen in Lima, at the same time to the enormous price of twenty-five dollars the fanega, (ten dollars the bushel,) and was even scarce at that price. Therefore, whatever may hereafter be the condition of Peru, whether independent or colonial, this grain trade with Chile must be open, and accumulate its resources to the benefit of foreigners, or what is most likely, be carried on by them; because Chile, as was admitted by the director himself, has not at present, a single seaman of its own. The returns for Chile wheat will be, as under the colonial system, made in specie, because Peru has nothing else with which it can pay for what it wants over and above the supply of Chile in sugar, coffee, &c.

But the inevitable consequence of allowing this necessary partial opening of the parts of the Pacific, for the admission of breadstuffs, will be, that a very great proportion of the precious metals will make its way out, through them, from every part of the rich mine districts of the Andes to the northward of Chile: and it seems to be in the natural course of things, that the precious metals extracted from Peru-Alto, or most of the high provinces of Buenos Ayres, should also take a direction to the ports of the Pacific; if not altogether at least in as great a proportion as heretofore. The port of Arica, situated about three hundred miles to the south of Lima, was a place of some importance, and much frequented, under the colonial system. It was from the wonderful salt mines in the neighborhood of

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Arica whence most of the settlements along the coast were supplied. The salt is cut in large blocks of about one or two hundred pounds weight, and thus brought to the city for exportation. I have seen mules laden with these blocks of salt in Valparaiso, going into the interior. Arica was also visited for the specie, from the rich mines of Potosi and its neighborhood, which found its way from thence. The port of Cobija, situated about three hundred miles south of Arica, on the Rio Salado, and two hundred and sixty miles beyond the river of the same name, which is the northern boundary of Chile, was also remarkable as another of the ports whence some of the precious metals, of the mines to the eastward of it, got abroad. Commerce naturally and inevitably seeks and adopts its best interests and greatest conveniences, unless dragged away from them by a master as inconsiderate and arbitrary as a Spanish vice roy. It is therefore, reasonable to presume, that the commerce of Potosi and the provinces round it will, under any future peaceful condition of them, be suffered to follow as much, or rather more, of their own interests, than they have done heretofore: if so, a view of their geographical situation will clearly show in what direction those interests will lead.

The distance from the port of Arica to the city of Potosi is one hundred and twenty miles; thence to La Plata or Chuquisaca it is fifty miles further: but from Potosi to Jujuy, on the direct road to Buenos Ayres, the distance is four hundred and forty-seven miles; and, thence, by a cart road, to the city of Buenos Ayres, it is twelve hundred miles farther. From the port of Arica to the city of Catagayta, one of the principal cities of Chichas, a rich mining province, still farther south than Patosi, it is one hundred and ninety-two miles; and, thence, to Jujuy, it is two hundred and fifty-five miles. And again, from the port of Cobija to Potosi, is only two hundred and fifty miles; and, from the same port, to Catagayta, it is two hundred and twenty miles further. It must be recollected, however, that all the roads of the country of which I am speaking, from the sea coast as far east as the city of Jujuy, are only practicable for mules; but they are, by every one, allowed to be as good from the coast to Potosi; and the other middle valleys of the Andes, as they are thence to Jujuy at the eastern foot of them. Hence it will appear, that the natural and most convenient ports for almost all the rich and rugged provinces, lying among the mountains, are those on the coast of the Pacific.

Supposing, then, that the precious metals, and the foreign commerce of the high provinces of Peru-Alto, be directed toward Arica and Cobija, and all the coast to have a trade partially open, which it must have to Chile at least, the benefits of that trade will be so much in addition or accumulation of that flowing directly from Chile alone. What may be the amount of the advantages likely thus to arise to the United States, I have been able to collect no data which would enable me to form an estimate founded on facts; but I should suppose, that, on comparing it with the other branches of commerce connected with Chile, and the probable value of a trade entirely open

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and free, to all that rich coast, it would not be deemed extravagant to estimate it as likely to yield profits amounting to somewhere about one million of dollars per annum.

Our countrymen have, for some time past, carried on a very extensive commerce over the Pacific Ocean, that has been no less creditable to their bold spirit of enterprise than lucrative to themselves and beneficial to their country. I allude to that which has been fished up out of the ocean itself; which has been gathered from the various groups of islands scattered over it from south to north; and also, that which has been derived from trending along the coast of our continent, from Cape St. Lucas, the extreme southern promontory of the peninsula of California, north, through the great inlet, called Lynn Canal, to its bottom, in the fifty-ninth degree of north latitude. The hardy adventurers in this branch of commerce have gone forth from their country, have almost circumnavigated the world, and have bid defiance to the perils of the ocean in all the various latitudes of storms and calms; of the frozen zone, and under the fierce rays of a vertical sun. They have suffered privations and encountered difficulties of every sort, and have no where found friendship and succor: they have never been cheered by the protecting wave of their country's flag. Skill, courage, and fortitude, have been their only resources. But a more propitious time seems to have arrived.

Immediately in front of the mountain coast of Chile is the great whale fishery of the Pacific, which has been so profitably pursued by the citizens of the United States. There are engaged in this business annually, about fifteen or twenty American ships. All their stores and provisions, as well as implements, and such outfits, they have hitherto been obliged to take from home, and to rely altogether on their own resources for completing their cargo, without the least protection or succor from any quarter whatever, except what they derived from a covert and hazardous trade with the Spanish provinces on the coast, with a few select articles brought for the purpose of thus procuring refreshment and necessaries as opportunities offered. But the sufferings, hardships, and losses they have sustained, at such an immense distance from home, for the want of some friendly port of a civilized nation, which they could enter and procure supplies, have been exceedingly great and by no means unfrequent. The advantages and conveniencies to this branch of trade, of the open free ports of such a country as Chile, are obviously prodigious. These ships gather their valuable cargoes from the ocean, in cruising along the American coast, having it often in sight, between the latitudes of the islands of Chiloe and that of the bay of Panama; and when it is completed, they most usually return direct home, by the way of Cape Horn. The aggregate value of this branch of trade may be estimated at one million of dollars per annum.

The shores of the numerous islands of the great north and south Pacific Ocean are very frequently found to be swarming with

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one or other of the various species of Phoca, or seals, or sea dogs, whose skins find a ready sale in India. And most of those islands, that lay near and within the tropics, have considerable forests of sandal wood, which is so highly valued by the Chinese, either for the delightful odour of the sap extracted from it, or from its being held by them to be an acceptable burnt offering to their gods. There are, on an average, not less, in each year, than five American ships, of from two to three hundred tons, that make a cruise among these various islands for the purpose of collecting a cargo of seal skins and sandal wood for the China market. These ships require to be armed, well manned, and found, but their valuable cargoes are picked up with almost nothing, the amount which they carry to barter with the natives is so very trifling. These ships, when outward bound, always pass directly by Chile, and would find great advantage in having its ports open to them for outward freight, for supplies, and for protection. The cargoes of these vessels, I have been assured, may be safely estimated as being worth in China sixty thousand dollars each.

The coast of our continent from the southern point of California to the bay or river of St. Francisco, is claimed by the Spaniards, and they have some small parcels of civilized population strewed all along it, by which they hold possession, and exercise a kind of jurisdiction, by means of some few soldiers and a priest at each presidio or station. The holy father, in proportion as he has been successful in obtaining an influence over the savages, or in converting them to the true faith, governs them, and takes into his keeping as well their temporal as spiritual concerns. There are not less than four ships from the United States, that, in each year, make trading voyages, along this coast, and carry on a barter with the independent tribes, or through the agency of the priest at each presidio, with whom they trade for such articles as he himself wants, or may be necessary for the soldiers of the station, if there be any, or as his flock, the natives, may fancy, in exchange for land and sea otter skins, and other furs. These ships might, in many respects, be very advantageously supplied on their outward voyage from the ports of Chile, which are directly in their way. Their cargoes are estimated as worth about eighty thousand dollars each, in China.

Along the coast of the continent, to the north of St. Francisco, is carried on that commerce, entirely with the natives of the country, which is usually and properly called the trade of the northwest coast. To the northward of Columbia river there are numerous bays and rivers of very great extent. It is on the shores of these bays, that our navigators most usually carry on their trade; and which are collectively called the inner coast, in contradistinction to that fronting on the ocean itself, and a great part of which the Russians claim as appertaining to their settlement at Sitka or Norfolk Sound. There are not less, on an average, than fourteen ships, of from two to three hundred tons, that go every year on a trading voyage to the northwest coast. Among the articles which they have for carrying

on their barter on the coast, is hard bread, of which it is calculated that they altogether take about four hundred tons. This article could be had in Chile for less than its freight there, from the United States, would amount to. These ships pass directly along the coast of Chile, and might be very materially aided in other respects, as well as protected, from its ports. The aggregate worth of the cargoes of the northwest traders, in China, is estimated at about one million of dollars.

I have given the computed value of these last three branches of trade from the United States to the Pacific in China, because they all go out by the way of Cape Horn, and make a circuit, by the way of China, home. A capital in China is generally allowed to be worth thirty per cent. additional in the United States; consequently, the sum total of this commerce in the United States, may be calculated at two million one hundred and fifty-eight thousand dollars.

I am aware, that, since the United States have obtained the peaceful and unquestioned possession of Columbia river, a settlement will soon grow up there, whence much of the countenance, facilities, and protection to our commerce on the Pacific, may and will be derived, which could only otherwise be had from independent Chile. But it is no less evident, from the nature of things, that Chile will furnish the means of cherishing and hastening the growth of that settlement. For, besides the supplies which an infant establishment may draw from Chile, the settlement at Columbia river will have a ready and unrivalled market on the southern Spanish coast, particularly in Chile, for what are understood to be its staple commodities. Ship's spars and lumber are scarce, and in some places not to be had, between Guayaquil and Concepcion. The shores of Columbia river, are at present, encumbered with the greatest abundance of them and of the finest quality. All accounts concur in representing the quantities of salmon and halibut to be had in Columbia river as prodigious. The catholic Spanish settlements to the south, will be a market always open for them.

I have shown, that, from the month of February, eighteen hundred and seventeen, to the month of July, eighteen hundred and eighteen, during the first of the second epochs of revolution and distraction in Chile, within a time when the opening of its ports could not much more than have been heard of, there have been actually landed in the ports of Chile, by citizens of the United States, merchandise to the amount of one million three hundred and seventy five thousand dollars: and a much greater value might have been imported, with a certainty of its finding a market, and being paid for, in a fair course of trade, but for the inconveniencies growing out of the present state of things; some of which I have endeavored to explain. But if we recollect the advantages which our citizens have, in the China and India trade, by being unfettered with the monopoly of an East India company, and that the silver and copper of Chile will enable them to extend their enterprise, and push their commerce

to a greater advantage than ever, I think it will not be deemed an exaggeration to set down the commerce of Chile itself as worth to the United States annually, about two millions of dollars.

Summing up the whole of these several branches of commerce, they will form a total of six millions one hundred and fifty eight thousand dollars of annual value to the United States, which will either be produced, cherished, or protected, from that new and interesting country.

These are my views of the benefits, profits, and advantages, which the citizens of the United States are likely to derive from independent Chile. I may be allowed to declare, that I feel, in common with my countrymen, a lively sympathy and a deep interest in the fate of a brave and generous people struggling for their liberties; yet, it would be presumptuous in me to point to the measures which the government ought to pursue; because, the excellent institutions of my country have provided the means of calling together the impartial intelligence and wisdom of the nation to determine the course of measures to be adopted upon that, as upon all other similar and important subjects. But I shall esteem myself honored, and feel gratified with having done some good, if it shall be found, that I have added somewhat to that stock of information which has been sought for, to enable the government to direct its steps with a justice and a dignity worthy of itself upon so interesting an occasion, and, at the same time, in a manner best calculated to promote the cause of freedom and humanity.

Be pleased, sir, to accept the assurance of my highest respect.

THEODORICK BLAND.

To the honorable John Quincy Adams,
Secretary of State, Washington.

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APPENDIX.

B.

A Manifesto of the government to the people who form the state of Chile.

All the people of the land have an imprescriptible right to the establishment of their liberty; but few obtain the enjoyment of it; because, the great sacrifices it requires of them are superior to the terrors inspired by despotism in their weak souls. They know, that the first step in this enterprise is to resolve to lay aside all that to which they had previously submitted. And, to reform the political institutions of a people it is necessary, that the greater part should renounce their habits, abandon their interests, lose their tranquillity, and many times endanger their reputation itself. In the currrent of a revolution calculated to innovate on the destinies of half the world, perhaps the whole, it is difficult for an individual to change or have a choice of sacrifices. The people of Chile have now known, from their own experience, the necessity of passing this intermediate period of dangers and vicissitudes, before the establishment of those reforms, which are required by the age in which we live, and the actual relations of the human race. But neither the multiplied horrors of a war carried on with the ferocity of the Spanish government, nor the weight of those calamities, which give a shock to the rude passions of a new born nation; nothing has been able to change those sentiments which were evinced in the celebrated revolution of the 18th September, of the year 1810. From that epoch, until the 1st October, 1814, we made an essay of our powers; and, thence, may know, that they are sufficient to sustain the wishes of an offended people, that internal grievances might not always exhaust their resources, who, in proportion as they are united, were animated by the same feelings and were threatened by equal dangers.

We could not run counter to that first principle which declares, that every one may follow the physical and moral law of his nature; and, consequently, in the progress of our destiny to conceive ideas, to form opinions, and to execute projects, that communicated the tendency of our views; which manifest our sincere endeavor to obtain our object, and at the same time avoiding those errors, which stir the angry passions and excite public commotions; resisting internal and external enemies, although we sometimes yielded to the impulse of force, or hostile manoeuvres. These causes had such an effect upon our operations, that the enemy triumphed by means of the enthusiam, and the sacrifices Chile had made, since it had undertaken the

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work of its regeneration. The country fell again under the Spanish yoke, and its inhabitants were treated as rebels; for, all unsuccessful revolution is rebellion. The oppression and outrages which had been previously suffered by Chile, the atrocities of which it was the victim, in that epoch, were the signal of a great conflagration, or a scene of frightful shipwreck, compared with the reality of those catastrophes. A torrent of calamities inundated this beautiful country; hatred and revenge dictated the law to which all the actions of Chilenos, and the fruitfulness of the land itself were subjected. The oppressor caculated, that he was now able to repose in tranquillity under his laurels, that the fruit of his victory would be slavery without end, and that he might yet make America forget the origin of its pretensions, and its rights. The impulse was, however, only for the instant; it made an impression but of short duration over a vast continent, the several parts of which could not be suffered to remain unattended to for a moment, to give direction to the whole.

It was proper, that the United Provinces, existing under a new form, and feeling the interests of Chile inseparable from their own, should make a last effort of their strength to save it, or both to fall entombed under their own ruins. In short, the army of the Andes was organized, and the 13th of February, 1817, arrived to put into our hands the destiny to which we aspired. Liberty was restored to Chile, a time to benefit by the history of past misfortunes; for, the tenor of those public acts should admonish us to preserve harmony in affairs, with practical ideas, which constitute true liberty, and would not drive us against the rock of adopting principles, that conduct to anarchy, and convert jealousy into fanatacism.

The first step was to nominate a person, who might be charged with the executive government, in circumstances so difficult. The capital of Santiago called me to that station, by the universal acclamation of its inhabitants; and, that voice had been uniformly followed by the provinces, and the people of the state. I entered on the administration, and already know, that it is only by a vigerous and energectic government, that tranquillity and order can be maintained, and the public mind be prepared in time to receive convenient institutions. To this end, it became necessary to banish rivals, who acted under the American name, and to take precaution against those, who, by a false calculation of our interests, had the power to mislead the unthinking. These measures were the more urgent, as the enemy had reinforced the province of Concepcion, by the remainder of those he had saved from Chacabuco; and hoped to receive in Talcahuano auxiliaries from Lima, with which, to act anew on the offensive. At all events it was necessary to organize a respectable force, capable of securing peace, and of imposing respect from the invaders. I directed all my views to this end, and the result has been fully commensurate to my wishes. Under the conduct of general San Martin, the united army was put, in a short time, on a footing, that did honor to America, and gave us a right to hope for a decisive triumph in the first battle. But

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a force so considerable could not be maintained without great sacrifices. The extraordinary expenses of the war, and other charges upon the revenue, left a deficit, which it was necessary to fill at all hazards. The government saw, at the same time with distress, all the sources of national wealth obstructed, and the country almost entirely drained by the Spaniards, left hardly any means to meet calls so great. The economy and the generous zeal of the Chileno people were the only funds, which neither the reverses of war, nor the universal interdict of our mercantile relations were able to destroy; with these, although at the expense of great privations, the army was maintained, and the other exigencies of the state deferred; thus for the present, public affairs were immediately taken care of, when the duties of the war called on me to take command of the army of the south; and I delegated the exercise of the functions of supreme director to other persons. The conduct pursued in this interval by these delegated governors, has been entirely satisfactory, for their duties were discharged with great activity. But all shall be recollected with glory, and amends be made for the great afflictions which once impeded our enterprise, which has terminated in such important results.

In the mean time, the army of the enemy, secure by the strength of its position, remained shut up in Talcahuano, and was insulted by our valor, without being exposed to the risk of testing his prowess. I knew very well the difficulties of an assault; but, after one painful campaign had been wasted, it was impossible, any longer to restrain the impatience of courage; when, on the 5th of October last, we made a stroke on the besieged; and, although the attack was honorable to our arms, we were obliged to yield; for triumph is not always the recompense of the brave. At this time an expedition from Lima united to the troops of Talcahuano was announced; according to the calculations of general Ossorio, to whose command it was entrusted, it was amply sufficient to re-establish the ancient domination. On the 18th January, the convoy arrived at Talcahuano, and it must be acknowledged, that the forces brought against us, were superior to all that had been seen in the field against America since the beginning of our revolution.

Here opens the epoch in which Chile was driven unto the extreme of its sacrifices, and in which the government put forth all the means of its power to frustrate the pride and the arrogance of the enemy. The conflict of the 19th March, is one of those events which valor could not prevent, and which timidity itself is incapable of apprehending. An army respectable, anxious for the combat, habituated to order, and directed by general San Martin, saw itself attacked in the darkness of the night, and in the same moment, that its position was changed to display its bravery on the following day, after sustaining the first shock, a part of our troops were dispersed, put the rest in confusion, and the camp was abandoned to the enemy. This unexpected reverse of fortune struck an universal terror, spread consternation over the country, and debilitated the powers of govern-

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ment; for such circumstances relax obedience, and leave authority embarrassed. The recollection of Spanish authority, and the dread of falling under its domination prevailed over every hope. The greater part of the prtriots abandoned their houses and families, or fled with them without any other means than was necessary to save their lives. This concurrence of circumstances made the reorganization of the army, in itself sufficiently difficult, much more vexatious: but, the brave did not tremble, and in a short time rallied in the neighborhood of Santiago. Every thing is extraordinary, all is grand in the historical detail of those moments; from the 19th of March until the 4th of April, we have seen the greater part of the army dispersed, making a retreat of eighty leagues without dissolving itself, preserving order in the midst of confusion, repairing its losses, notwithstanding the scantiness of its means, and preparing itself for a battle, which in the revolution of the new world will be as memorable as was that of the old, which decided the fate of Europe in the field of Waterloo. On the fifth of April, the enemy presented himself on the plains of the Maypu: his force was superior to ours, his position seemed calculated for victory, and his ferocity corresponded to the nature of his pride; that alone which was wanting to ensure his triumph with absolute certainty was the darkness of night. General San Martin led on the attack at noon day; our soldiers remembered, that they were the conquerors of Chacabuco, and after six hours of combating, in which time the field was drenched with blood, the whole of the army of the enemy was left in our power, and general Ossorio only escaped with his escort In the annals of war, there is no recollection of a triumph more complete; nor one in which there could be more obstinate courage on both sides, neither is there any recollection of a success so fruitful in results.

Chile, with its numerous population, the fertility of its soil, the richness of its mines, and the advantages of these means of prosperity, will now belong only to itself. Our relations with foreign nations will have only for their basis reciprocity of interests; and the epoch is not distant, when the government, having completed its regulations for loosening the fetters from our commerce, facilitating the exportation of our productions, the class of industrious agriculturalists, secure in meeting a demand that will recompense their labors, will soon be doubled. In the meantime, it will be useless to adopt partial projects, the execution of which can only be the result of our general combinations; although the country is now almost entirely free from its enemies, yet in consequence of his maritime ascendency, the immediate market for our productions groans beneath the weight of Spanish monopoly, and is in want of those articles most necessary for its consumption.

It is true, that the battle of the fifth of April, has made a breach in the exclusive system, which erected such a barrier between us and the ports of Lima; but it is necessary to make new and mutual efforts to remove all obstacles. Lima cannot long be withheld from

the general destines to which America yields; and its principles must accord with those proclaimed by Chile, and the United Provinces; the simultaneous operations of our forces, and assendency of public opinion in Upper Peru, will determine whether it be possible to form on the American continent, a grand confederation, capable of irrevocably sustaining its civil and political liberty, whatever may be the form of government that may be established in those confederated states. The solemn declaration which was made by the United Provinces on the 9th of July, 1816, and that which we ourselves pronounced on the 12th of February last, will be soon loudly repeated in the capital of Peru; and henceforth it will be these, that give date to the age in which was commenced the breaking of the chain which bound America to the potentates of Europe, who were accustomed to look on it as an exclusive property of the smallest quarter of the globe. The United States gave the first example; it lives, and it is impossible to destroy it; Brazil, although following different principles, has also ceased to belong to Europe, and is now the second power of America; the times cannot retrogade; the universal opinion of men has, practically, fixed the difference between authority and despotism, between obedience and slavery, between liberty and licentiousness. The examples which have broken forth in the midst of those despots, and the experience of those evils which have afflicted Europe in our days, are beacons that will warn the people to shun the brilliant theories of anarchists.

Let us move on firmly to our destiny, but without deviating from the justice and spirit of order, that is presented to us; we approach the moment when the will of the Chileno people shall be the sole guaranty of their institutions; the calling of a general congress is the solemn thought that occupies me; if my own ardent wishes were sufficient alone to accelerate it, we would now be on the eve of that great event. But to lay the foundation of the representative system, to which we aspire, it is necessary that the numbers of the representation of the people should guard the greatest proportion of them possible, by their being represented; this apportionment is not ascertained, it must, therefore, be preceeded by the taking of a general census. I have commanded it to be made immediately, and my secretary of state is charged with the execution of this decree, and with communicating to all the munncipalities of the state proper instructions by which means the estimate may be performed with exactness. Until this is done, I have taken good care also to order two commissioners, which shall be publicly announced in the first ministerial gazette, the one for the purpose of preparing a provisional statute which may govern until the meeting of the congress, with the sanction of all the people of the state, and the other for the formation of a constitution under which a congress may be called, when it shall be committed to their care, and they shall establish the division of supreme power according to the will of the people, and conform to the plan, that our actual relations may suggest. I promise

myself much from the zeal of the municipal bodies who aid my powers; they will hasten the meeting of the Chileno congress, and not postpone the day on which I shall declare the number of the national representation by virtue of the extraordinary power which has been reposed in me, under the guarantee of my responsibility. I shall, therefore, continue until then in the exercise of those high functions, that are proper for a chief magistrate under such circumstances as the present.

The experience of fifteen months, that I have administered the public concerns under the old existing forms, and the success that we have obtained by its influence, makes me hope, that, following the same course, the government will be carried to the end of its undertakings; the citizens will see a termination of their sacrifices, and the people will put the seal to their destiny. But if, contrary to my expectations, any obstacles should present themselves, I am sure we shall find means to overcome all, be the causes of opposition what they may. Against foreign enemies, we have an army, that has twice conquered, as terrible in the day of battle, as constant in adversity, and humane after victory; the general who commands it, will very soon return from the capital of the United Provinces, where he has been hastily carried by the interests of our grand combinations; and neither the distance of more than four hundred leagues, nor the difficulties that are presented by the Andes in the middle of winter, will be able to delay his return; he will sustain there, as well as here, the honor of both national flags united; and his name shall be the standard of the brave. Against the naval power which until now has been shown by the enemy, we have the elements of a force, that has began to make its first essays; and we promise ourselves will, in a short time, give us as decided a superiority over the sea as we have now obtained by land. In spite of the scantiness of our resources, we have armed the ship Lautaro, of 52 guns; and she, alone, has been sufficient to raise the blockade maintained by the frigate Esmeralada, the brig Pezuela, and other Spanish vessels; which, in the very first action, have struck their flag to ours; and would now have augmented the trophies of Chile, if captain O'Brien had survived the glory he obtained in that attack. Against internal enemies, the government will constantly place the rectitude of its views, the zeal of its good offices, and the vigilance of all the public functionaries. If any shall attempt to mislead the opinion of simple men, and to give to the Chileno people an impulse contrary to their pacific character and honorable feelings, I will employ all my authority to stifle the disorder, and to avoid those rocks. But I flatter myself with the hope, that the influence and foresight of the subaltern authorities, will enable me to shun the pain of adopting measures which would cost my heart an afflicting sacrifice. It is not many days, since the honorable municipality of this capital, gave an example of vigilance in preserving public order, co-operating with my power for the purpose of uniting the opinion of some citizens, who, substantially wishing the same

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that I anxiously desire, would suggest reforms, which are only dangerous by being untimely. The government has made a just discrimination in its zeal, and has taken precaution against those who mask their designs under its name.

Such is the outline which the revolution in Chile presents, until the period in which we at present find ourselves; in it, we will discover a continual struggle between education and conviction; between interest and custom; between naked truth and error. This has been the most difficult combat, because we have had to make a conquest over ourselves, in order to triumph over the enemy.

Now is the time, that will decide for Spain, who has obtained the victory in this contest, and if yet there can be a hope, that the ancient prejudices shall forever endure for the support of its power. Chilenos! the eighth year of our revolution is going to be eternally memorable. No one can contemplate our destiny, without recollecting the 5th of April, and the plains of Maypu, and what has been there written; let us redouble our energies to augment the series of our grand successes; in the present year we have declared ourselves absolutely independent, we have obtained a triumph that would astonish Europe, if that had been the theatre of our exertions, and we are going to open a campaign which will give liberty to the continent, and lay the foundations of a triple confederation; in which we shall see the Chileno congress united, if some unforseen occurrence does not prevent it. What generations will spread over our territory! what numbers will wish to place themselves exactly in our circumstances! what great souls will desire to be transported into the midst of us, to have the glory of influencing here the happiness of half the world! we should be thankful to Providence, that we have now in our own hands the fortunes of the country; let us save it at every hazard, and leave to posterity other rights which will make it grateful to us, and rally about a constitution sanctioned by the will of the people.

Given at our Directorial Palace of Santiago, 5th May, 1818.

BERNARDO O'HIGGINS.

Antonio Jose de Irisarri.

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C.

DEAR SIR,

I enclose you in No. 1, an account of the cities, ports, and towns within the state of Chile; at the foot of which will be found the actual population computed, in the whole country, according to a census imperfectly made in the year 1814. But, there may result from the new one, that is going to be made a very material difference; giving grounds to the suspicion, of which we have formed an idea, of the irregularity with which the previous one had been made.

The paper No. 2, represents the product of the tithes, within a period of five years, from 1805 to 1809, selected as an example; it being the close of the period, when the province of Concepcion was united to that of Santiago. Observing, however, that for the ten years previous to this time, the tithes of Santiago have produced the same, with little difference from those of the before mentioned term of five years.

The statement No. 3, exhibits a view of the coinage, for the year 1817; and of the present, until this day. Producing from coined gold and silver, one million six hundred and ninety-five thousand nine hundred and twenty-five dollars and seven rials; leaving a profit to the state of two hundred and forty-eight thousand one hundred and fifty dollars, two and three-fourths rials. But from this statement, an idea of the products of the mines cannot be drawn with exactness; but only approaching to the truth; without, in such case, taking into the account for that purpose, the value of metals withdrawn by contraband, and employed in the fabrics made up by the silversmiths for the use of the country.

By the statement No. 4, is shown the receipts and expenditures of the public treasury, since the 13th February, 1817, until the end of December of the same year; but, it must be observed, that there are not comprehended in it, some receipts of much importance; which by their uncertain nature ought not to be entered in that account.

By the statement No. 5, is seen the receipts and expenditures of the national treasury, in the six past months of the present year. It will, however, be proper to observe, that the receipts which will be had in the six ensuing months, it is clear, may be more, from other sources, than those shown in this statement, which have not, for the present, been brought into the treasury; except a very small part of the tithes, and there are very great sums which are payable for particular duties.

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In the statement No. 6, is presented, at the foot, the strength of our veteran troops, and of the militia, according to the last muster, that has been rendered of them.

Finally, in No. 7, is expressed our ships of war, and privateers, which, up to this day, have been armed in this country.

These being the only documents, I have been able to make out for you in the short space of time, that has been allowed me for it, I hope they may be sufficient for you, and come up to your expectations.

God grant you many years of health.

[Signed] ANTONEO JOSE IRISARRI.

8th July, 1818.

Theodorick Bland, Esq.

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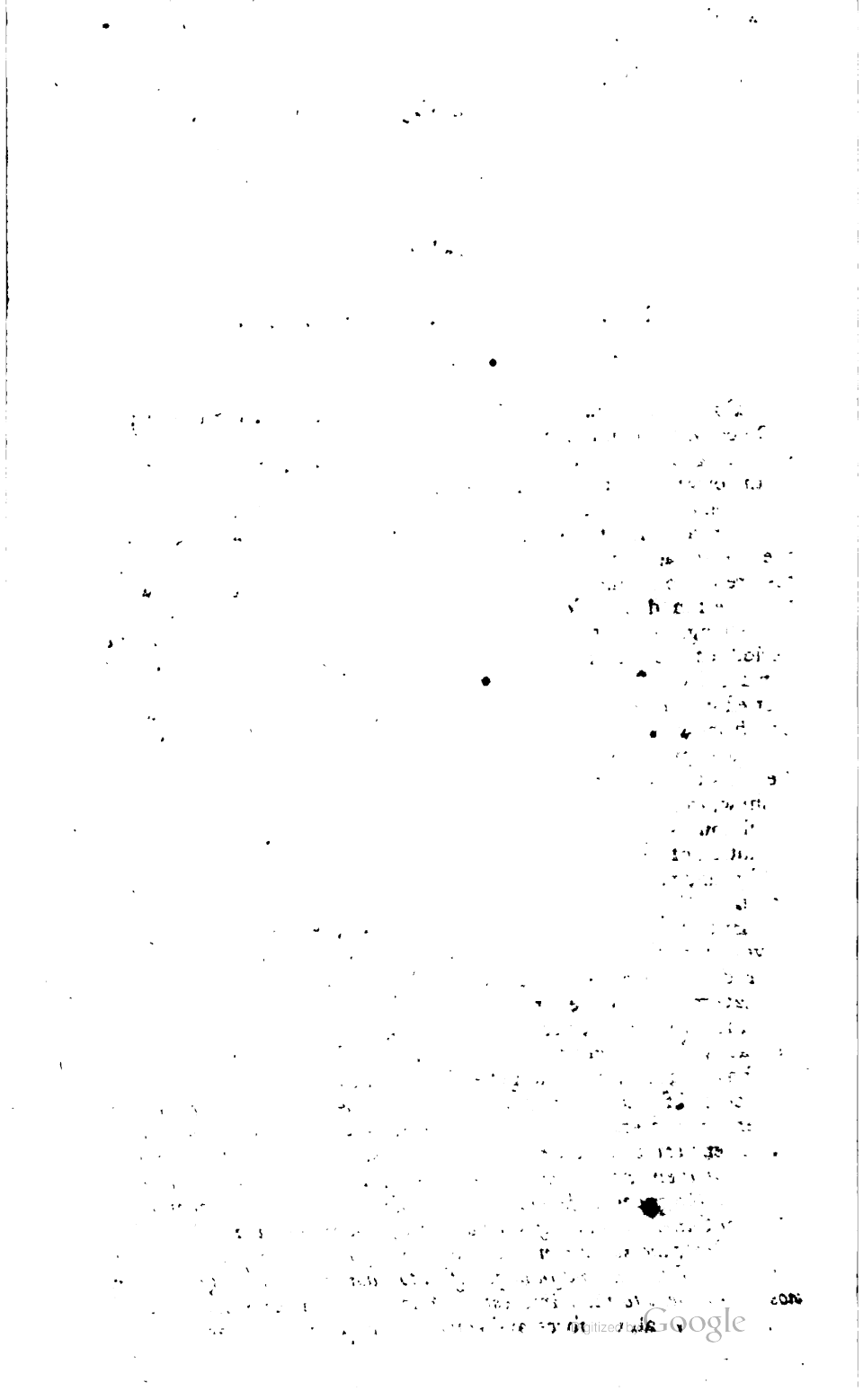
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(D.)

Proclamation of the Independence of Chile.

The Supreme Director of the State.

Force has been the supreme reason, which, during upwards of 300 years, has maintained the new world under the necessity of reverencing, as a dogma, the usurpation of its rights, and seeking therein the origin of its most important duties. It was evident, that a day should come, when this enforced submission would cease; but, in the meantime, it was impossible to anticipate it: the resistance of the inferior against the superior, stamps with a sacrilegeous character, his pretensions, and serves only to discredit the justice upon which they are founded. For the 19th century, was reserved the spectacle of hearing innocent America claim her rights, and show, that the peperiod of her sufferings could continue no longer than that of her debility. The revolution of the 18th September, 1810, was the first effort Chile made towards accomplishing these high destinies, to which she was called by time and nature. Her inhabitants have given since, proofs of the energy and firmness of their will, scorning all the vicisitudes of a war, in which the Spanish government has wished to shew, that her policy towards America will survive the overthrow of all abuses. This conviction has naturally suggested to them the resolution of separating themselves forever, from the Spanish monarchy, and proclaiming their INDEPENDENCE, *in the face of the whole world.*

But, the actual circumstances of the war, not permitting the convocation of a national congress to sanction the public vote, we have ordered, that a register should be opened, in which all the citizens of the state might declare for themselves, free and spontaneously, their votes, for the urgent necessity of the government proclaiming immediately the independence, or for delaying it, or for the negative; and, having found, that the generality of the citizens have, irrevocably, decided for the affirmative of this proposition, we have thought proper, in the exercise of the extraordinary power with which we have been vested, by the people, for this particular case, *to declare solemnly, in their names, in the presence of the Almighty, and to make known to the great confederation of mankind, that the continental territory of Chile, and her adjacent islands, form, in fact and right, a free, independent, and sovereign state, and are, forever separated from the monarchy of Spain, and fully qualified to adopt the form of government most convenient to their interests.* And, in order, that this declaration may have all the force and solidity which must characterise the

first act of a free people, we warrant it with the honor, life, fortunes, and all the social relations, of the inhabitants of this new state; pledging our word, the dignity of our station, and the honour of the arms of our country; and, we order, that with the books of the grand register, the original act shall be deposited in the records of the corporation of Santiago, and circulars despatched to the towns, armies and corporations, to have it sworn to immediately, in order that the emancipation of Chile may be confirmed forever. Given at the Directorial Palace of Concepcion, on the 1st January, 1818: signed with my hand, and countersigned by our ministers and secretaries of state for the department of state, treasury, and war.

BERNARDO O'HIGGINS.

MIGUEL ZAÑARTU,
HIPOLITO DE VILLEGAS,
JOSE IGNACIO ZENTENO.

(E.)

Manifesto addressed to all Nations by the Supreme Director of Chile, on the motives which justify the Revolution of that Country, and the Declaration of its Independence.

When the justice of the cause of America is no longer an object exclusively consigned to the pens of philosophers, who so vigorously anticipated its defence, that their writings were condemned by the inquisition; when, to examine this cause, all civilized nations are now at work, judging rather by the probable issue of its struggle, than by the rectitude of the principles of our emancipation, in which they are all unanimously agreed; for these principles are no other than those proclaimed by Spain in the maintainance of her own sovereignty, and in the vindication of her resistance against the oppression of the French; in fine, when the succeeding generations are not in need of having recourse to the press to know the history of our events, better preserved in the pages of liberty, from age to age by tradition; it may seem unnecessary to produce the reasons which actuated the inhabitants of Chile to declare their independence, if custom, and respect for the dignity of other nations, at whose side we

are going to range ourselves, did not make it requisite, besides being justly expected as due to our own honor.

Indeed, for the happiness of mankind, that gloomy era is at present no more, when the learned of Europe were lamenting the shameful state of the colonies, yet in us it was considered a crime to complain. At that epoch even all the recollections of the conquest were forbidden, save only to praise the bloody arm of the usurpers. Those times of chivalry, when the absurd practice of duelling arose, and which give birth to the pretended right of the strong, exists no more; but this right, obscure in itself, and as inconsistent as *violence* and *consent*, without which no man can exercise dominion over his fellow creatures. Abuse undermined the very foundation of the right erected upon it; for the subjects were free to recover their liberty by force, or the manner of their losing it was illegal.

Such is the fact with respect to America. Spain, invading our coasts, under the sacrilegious pretence of religion, profaned by those false apostles, men who came to preach the gospel, but searched only the mines of the mountains, as the surgeon who comes only to bleed looks after the blood vessel, but never after attempted to legalize this hideous title, at least by that expedient which statesmen devise to give validity to the famous diploma of conquest, the consent and ratification of the people. Instead of this, America, without the least participation in the Cortez convened, and subservient to the capricious will of the monarch, was bound by the superstition of an oath, administered without authority by a municipal officer, who had indecorously procured his office at auction; and, precluded from discussing the motives of her passive obedience; condemned, in short, to slavery, without the privilege of remonstrance, she would have lost with the liberty of speech even the recollection of her wrongs, if it had been as easy to forget as to be silent. But these evils were repeated by a fixed system in the policy of the tyrants, and our complaints suffocated in the noise of our chains, the insolence of the oppressor increased with our patience.

The miserable residue of the aborigenes, who survived so many millions of victims, and who moved, and roved in different tribes, as the piles of sand in a desert, preserve, in their mournful history, the memory of their persecutions; show very clearly their repugnance to the yoke in the perpetual war they have always carried on against our frontiers, and which interrupts our tranquillity. What argument then, can Spain produce in her favor, hated as she is by the natives, and resisted by the sons of the conquerors, so soon as they were able to make known their wishes, without the impending fears of the dungeon? We claim that right which a slave may claim against a cruel master; the right of a man who arrived at the age of maturity, feels able to provide for himself by his own exertions and industry; the right of a person whose minority has expired, but who is generous enough not to call his guardian to an account; the right of a clerk, richer than his employer, who, instead of expecting protection,

can offer support. But all these examples, fall very far short of our case; we hold this land as our country by birth right, we here first saw the light, and received the civilization of the age.

All the efforts of tyranny cannot prevail against this right of nature; we compose a civil association, as free as that formerly conquered. Yet Spain, not less cruel to either or to both of them, adhering to her system of death and desolation, has afflicted us by her laws with all the horrors committed during the conquest. Let us pass in silence, that code of the Indias calculated for the education of slaves under the ecclesiastical feudalism of the curates, and the shocking lordships of the encomiendas. That humble portion of the species, for whom the barbarous decrees of the Isabellas, Ferdinands, Philips, and Charles', were promulgated, exist no longer in our community. A more enlightened people have followed after those devastations, who are of course the more sensible of the infamy of the three centuries preceding. The sister provinces, who before us have constituted themselves independent states, have already produced to the world a picture of vexations so horrid as excites the astonishment of nations at our sufferings and our patience; and have saved us the trouble of repeating it in this expose. For the system of oppression and depredations have been universal, and the ravages of servitude supported by the contrivances of the most inhuman despotism too common.

The object of government being no other than to procure to men the security and prosperity of society, how can it be supposed that the people of America would have submitted to misery and humiliation? Who would believe, that Americans, possessing the most precious soil in the universe, would submit to live in it only to moisten its fields with their tears, and to obey sacrilegious edicts inhibiting the productions of nature? For olive trees and vines were ordered to be pulled up by the roots in Chile,* that they might recieve oil and wine from the peninsula. Were we to take from Cadiz the regulations of our passive trade? Were we in this exclusive intercourse to live fettered by restrictions similar to those exercised by the government of Juan Fernandez, over miserable convicts? Were we to see our coasts abandoned to the enterprise of every invader, and yet Spain draining from us fifty millions of dollars in duties under the pretence of its defence, with vessels which never appeared but to commit hostilities against ourselves? Were we to be excluded from intercourse with other nations, to be condemned to buy for ten, what they may sell to us for one; and to see all foreigners driven from Chile with the literature of their language?† That under a monopoly of every kind and even of ideas, the freedom of the press, and of thought prohibited, and our university forbid from discussing the pretended prerogatives of the monarch of the Indies, lest the titles

*By a royal command, by advise of the council of the Indies, (Cedula, of 15th of October, 1767.)

† An order of the 1st of September, 1750.

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of his void and shameful dominion should be known? In short, that when our archives were stuffed with regulations of etiquette and ceremonies, about the appeals called the *one thousand and five hundred*, bought with the substance and the despair of the petitioner,* and respecting *pecuniary privileges*, which from the distance of three thousand leagues were distributed to the highest bidder, we should be indifferent to our fate, and ought to receive with cheerfulness the gifts of our masters?

How was it practicable for them amidst the intelligence of the age, to preserve their pretensions, after we had become ashamed of so many years of suffering, after our rude infancy was over, and when we had been more marked for our unfortunate habitual obedience, than the conquest of America for its importance to the three quarters of the globe then known? Has not the moment yet arrived for cancelling the debt contracted by the pledge of the jewels of Isabella for the expedition of Columbus? Are we yet debtors, after the millions exported to Madrid? No: the revolution of Spain, and the obstinacy of our executioners, have placed in our hands the power of casting off the burden. To suffer this favorable occasion to pass by is to become responsible to posterity. To learn our rights from the instructions given by Spain herself, and yet not to secure them in a solid *independence*, would be a crime deserving the execration of our sons, and the opprobrium of the present generation. We have declared it, and the sighs forced from us by the hostilities of our unreasonable antagonists shall be sweetened by the satisfaction of insuring to the offspring of the conquerers, that *liberty* of which the Spaniards stripped their ancestors.

We want,
We can,
Then we ought to be free.

Here is a conclusion drawn most precisely from antecedents, as evident *in fact as in right.*

We shall not question Spain any more about the right she can plead against us. Let us consider those she has alledged in favor of her sovereignty, after the imprisonment of Ferdinand; let us regard her conduct; let us compare her proceedings with ours; and mindful of her circumstances and station, and we must inevitably conclude in favor of the justice of our own cause.

The news of the coronation of Fedinand reached us together with the tidings of his imprisonment, and the mysterious history of the scenes of the Escorial, Aranjuez, and Bayonne. At that very time, the junta of Seville, invited us to send deputies to the *central government* (for America having no part in such a centre, it was quite unworthy of

* A famous appeal in the Spanish jurisprudence, known with the name of one *thousand five hundred*, from the supreme court in Spain, where, to revise the case, it was necessary to enter into a bail for that amount of reals The slowness of its proceedings passed for a proverb, and by the people, the name of one thousand five hundred was understood to be the number of years for the trial. (Translator.)

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that name;) for the first time America was declared *to be an integral part, equal in rights to the rest of the monarchy, and no more a colony or factory, as were those of other nations*; she was informed of the establishment of the provincial juntas, their object, form, and attributes; she heard the noble privileges of man, the sacred principles of the social compact; the rights of the people, and the return to the exercise of sovereignty, held before by the king as their agent, then disabled to continue in his functions in virtue of his captivity; finally, we were assured of the happy prospect of having a constitution to restrain the arbitrary conduct of government, and guarantee the citizen in the protection of the law by his representatives in a national congress.*

This stroke of light was too strong not to penetrate the most obscure mind, not to raise the most thoughtless spirits. The idea of the sovereignty, excited that instinct of *independence* born with man. Yet, united to the fate of the peninsula, it formed in the heart a contrast between the habitual wishes for the prosperity of the metropolis, and the necessity of providing for us in case of that country falling under the victorious armies of France. The diffident and menacing vigilance of our chiefs, inclined the scale to this side, and induced us to believe, that the generous conceptions of the liberal from the other side of the Atlantic, were mere artifices to maintain America yoked to the chances of fortune. Besides this, every criticism on the events of Spain was deemed a treason; and to repeat the flattering proclamations of her government, was in us considered as the sound of perfidy. Our assemblies were closely watched, and every man of sense had a centinel placed over him. This was the plan formed in the closets of the inferior tyrants. At Venezuela, the citizens Ortega, Rodriguez, and Ianz, were exiled from their families by Emparan; Roxas, Ovalle, and Vera, in Chile, by Carrasco. That governor ordered his assessor to be admitted to his functions forcibly; here Carrasco, surrounded by bayonets, gave possession to a like officer of the first seat in the cabildo. At that moment, fears began to be superior to hope; and personal freedom began to engage the sentiments of the people. With some doubts about the fidelity of the chief, a part of the inhabitants observed, that the conduct of this man was in contradiction with the promises from the Spanish government; and from Spain he was advised, that the greater part of her ministers, counsellors, generals, nobles, and bishops, had adhered to the French party†. We noticed the removal from office of the peninsula's chiefs; the inactivity of their successors; and the expedient adopted by the people for their safety, in the erection of juntas. The news of one having been established at Buenos Ayres, put

* Orders of 19th and 20th of March, of 30th of September 1808, of the 1st and 22d of January, and the manifesto of the 28th of October, 1809.

† Orders of the 28th of July, 1808, of 14th of February, 23d of March, and 24th of May, 1809.

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Chile in motion. Carrasco hoped to pacify it by the hypocritical recall of the exiles; which was detected and treated as a fraud, and the governor deposed. The Spaniards residing at Santiago were the most strenuous for his removal; and the command was conferred on brigadier Count de la Coriquista, as senior officer, according to ancient regulations. The Oidores trembled at the aspect of this alteration, which seemed to them a presage of the expiration of their authority; their consciences accused them of having subscribed too pliably with their *advices*, the treacheries of Carrasco. They believed, that the occasion for *promoting discord*, agreeably to the *secret order* of 15th of April, 1810, had arrived; and in fact they excited it between Americans and Spaniards. A meeting was proposed, from the most respectable persons from both parties; and the result was, to convene the people for the 18th of September. On this ever memorable day, was established the supreme junta to rule over the country, *in the name of Ferdinand the VIIth*, with submission to the regency erected in Spain, over the ruins of the central junta. The then sympathy for the misfortunes of a suffering king, the habitual respect, and the spirit of imitation, were more powerful than the sense of our rights. Yet called by the order of events, the intelligence of the age, and a just regard to our interests, there were heard, even then, some voices for independence.

Our new government was approved by the regency. But this approbation was a snare to the candor and generosity of Chileno, to make them a prize to the contemplated bloody invasion which was ordered to be made by the vice roy of Peru. We should have calculated on this after seeing our brethren in Buenos Ayres proscribed, Caracas blockaded, and the tyrant Melendez directed to practice the most cruel severities.* Thus it was, amidst our most frank intercourse with Lima, in the season when our produce was exported to Callao, when $120,000 had just been acknowledged to have been received in Spain, by this consolate, and of $200,000 by the treasury, together with a voluntary contribution to assist Spain in her afflictions, that, as if waiting for this assistance to proceed to our extermination, Pareja landed at St. Vincentas with the army of devastation, *in the name of Ferdinand the VIIth.*

Then we brought to our recollection what the regency had told us,‡ that, *to this name would be forever, united the epoch of the regeneration and happiness of the monarchy in both hemispheres; that our destinies did no longer depend on the vice roys and governors; that they were in our own hands*, and we asked to ourselves, what that equality of rights was, with which they had flattered us, when on making use of it, they judged us "guilty of *high treasonable* innovation?" We

* Orders of the 2d of August and 4th of September, 1810.

† Letter from the Spanish government of 15th August, 1810.

‡ Manifesto of the 14th of February, 1810.

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looked to the causes that produced the regency in Spain, and we argued thus: "The people of the peninsula have founded their revolution on no other title, but the *exigency of the circumstances.* Why should not the people of American be proper judges, as well as the people of Spain, to decide whether they are, or are not in the same pressing necessity? From the monent the regency and the Cortez proclaimed, as the only base of their authority, the sovereignty of the people, they lost all pretension to command any people who wish to exercise their own. If the sovereignty emanates from the Spanish people, and if that people has no power over the American, who, as Spain is an integral part, and the principal part of the nation, why could we not ourselves represent the king and act in his name, as is done by the same persons who declare us rebels? Have they received from the captive some special commission, which has not reached us besides the order from Bayonne to admit the new dynasty of Napoleon, which they resist with so much heroism? And what with them is a virtue and a right, cannot be with us a crime. If Spain does not submit to the French, although they intend to command her *in the name of Ferdinand*, and by virtue of his resignation, with more reason shall we repulse those who bring war to us *in that same name*, because we have preserved him at the head of our government, and lavished an undeserved gratitude to persons who were traitors to their own principles."

Thus we were undeceived about the true meaning of those theories as brilliant as they were seducing, and we discovered on the reverse of the talisman, that under pretence of restoring him to the throne usurped from his father, they concealed the fraudulent design of stamping on us and our posterity a more fatal slavery than in former times, and that this was their urgent motive for ordering all the schools to be closed, that we might only be employed in remitting to Spain men, money, provisions, with blind obedience.* Then we cast our eyes on the map; we considered the natural and political position of Spain, and we were amazed that we *had* not, for so many years, dropt the curtain in this comedy where the performers, from the small theatre of a peninsular angle of Europe have kept in silent admiration, a whole world, without tiring and disgusting us by the uniformity of a plot conducted through the wiles of mere intrigue, and the denouement of which could visibly be no other but the discharge of a thousand lightnings on the spectators.

We reflected, and said to ourselves, "shall twenty-two thousand square leagues, and a million of inhabitants, animated with the temper and sobriety of the Araucanos, be kept depending on a point of the old hemisphere, which begs it resources from us, which perishes without them, lives by them, and endeavors to destroy us with them? Since when has the distinction of social relations been so absurd, that the maimed must serve his crutches, that the infant's mouth

* Order of the 30th April, 1810.

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changes the milk into blood, to spit it into the face of his nurse? that the needy rises up and wishes to command his benefactor? Whence did that legislation spring, by which neither mature age, nor soufid judgment, nor opulence, nor proper disposition for administration, nor superiority of forces, nor any of the many elements favorable to individual liberty, cannot procure liberty to a whole nation? Who has dictated that code, which authorizes the treacherous and ungrateful to be adored by the offended, and have their crimes sanctioned? And who has deprived us of our intellects, that we do not discover the cruelties of Spain, even in the impudent gifts of her favors? Called to the Cortez, with *an equal representation*, we see a member for every thirty thousand peninsulars, and hardly a million of us is a sufficient number to elect one! There the suffrage is popular; here it is consigned to the vote of a president, under the sanction of corporations. There the form of elections does not vary; here each mail brings us new forms, with the view that we should never be represented by any other power than that of *substitutes*, introduced with as much legality as the deputies of the congress of Bayonne; some unknown to the people they represented, and others objected to expressly by their constituents; not one of them with proper credentials, and every one of them placed there by peninsular influence.* There they trade freely with all nations; and here they shut our ports even to vessels from England, to whose alliance Spain owes all her power; and they are not ashamed to declare as null and void, a decree of the 17th March, 1809, which, it was supposed, was favorable to a free trade.† There, all foreign periodical papers, literary productions, liberal opinions of statesmen and philosophers, formerly stifled by despotic terror, and now rendering homage to nature and to the elements of civilization, are freely circulated; and here they have proscribed even national productions, the liberty of the press, and all writings relating to the Spanish revolution, except the ministerial papers of the regency, recommending to the *inquisition* the most scrupulous and responsible vigilance;‡ and pretending that, to enlighten Chile, it was only necessary to send twenty missionaries, to fill up the number of the missionaries in Chillan, *in order that the holy religion should not be lost for want of ministers.* Such is, in eighteen hundred and ten, the language of the regency who orders our treasury to pay the passage of those fanatics, to the great honor of our priests, and the piety and understanding of the country.§ Such is the grand system of equality and elevation they offer us. Such is the expression of flattery they have substituted to the deceits with which they formerly robbed the artless Indians of their treasures, and with which flattery they intend to deprive us of our feelings and instinct, accompanying these words with bayonets, that they may exterminate us in case we

* Orders of the 6th October 1809, and 29th March 1810.
† Orders of 10th July and 27th June 1809.
‡ Cedule of 1st January 1809, and orders of 31st April 1810.
§ Orders of the 13th and 19th July 1810.

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should rely in the faith of their promises. What decency and circumspection in these pretended *sovereigns!*"

As we were taken up with these considerations, at the light of the fire of the war they had kindled, we felt ashamed of our improvidence and generosity, and an universal cry of independence was the effect of the remorse drawn out by justice and the sight of our evils. The least of those motives we were contemplating, was sufficient to declare independence. However, satisfied with the hopes of a triumph which, by undeceiving our aggressors, should reduce them with the arms of persuasion, we delayed this august act to which we were compelled by nature, time, and our successes. We fought and vanquished. Our arms covered with glory in the battles of Yerbas-Buenos, San Carlos, el Roble, Concepcion, Talcahuano, Cucha, Membrillar and Quechereguas, brought us to that crisis in which the forces of the new general Gunza driven to the small precincts of Talca and annihilated, we might impose law on the man who brought us the Spanish constitution, that crafty piece, which under the appearances of liberty, contained only the conditions of slavery for America, who had not concurred in its formation, nor could she have been represented by the thirty-one substitute deputies legislating amidst the one hundred and thirty-three Spanish representatives. We could wish to consign to eternal oblivion that fatal epoch in which all the intrigues of perfidious Spain were contending against the magnanimity and openness of the Chileno character. Who could believe that, in a crisis so favorable to our undertakings and so fatal to the self-styled *national army*, the capitulations of the 3d May, 1814, would have been effected.

It is necessary to save us the shame of analysing them. Suffice it to record, that being ratified by our government, guaranteed by the mediation of commodore Hillyar with powers from the vice roy of Peru, accepted by the chief of the troops of Lima, our troops withdrawn, the prisoners restored to the enemy, and the people obliged to acknowledge peace solemnly proclaimed, it became necessary to assist the invaders to whom it was then impossible to move, and accept their nullity as an apology for their remaining employed in treasons at Talca, which place was to have been evacuated in thirty hours. They had hardly left our city and crossed the Maule, when Gunza pressed every spring to make up his losses; he recruited, assembled, and disciplined another army which he spread in the province of Concepcion; in the recruiting he spent all the money which were destined, through him, to repair the losses sustained by the inhabitants; he laid hands on all the funds, he appointed judges, and in a word, he set up for lord and master of that same ground which, he had agreed to evacuate in two months, until the arrival of Ossorio, who renewed hostilities, and threatening to put every thing to fire and sword unless we surrendered at discretion* and opened our bosoms to the procla-

* Summons of the 20th August 1814, from Chillan.

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mations and pardons of his visier.* It was too late to trust in the caresses of the lion who concealed his claws under the folds of the standard of war; we knew the consequences of the pardons granted in Mexico, Venezuela, Quito, Huanneo, and Upper Peru. These summons excited our alarm; but, in what circumstances, when with the views of the restoration of Ferdinand to the throne, we had just received his decree annulling the regency, the Cortez, their orders and constitution, and maintaining the established authorities in both hemispheres.

We did not wish to call upon these satellites of tyranny for their right to spread devastation in the country; but only for the right that supported their present aggression and converted another time their *royal* army into a *national* army. If they had impudence enough to become the sport of a versatile government, was that a reason why the people should deliver themselves to the sword, and implicated designs of their assassins. You cannot any longer name the constitution as an authority; (which, by and by, did not give you any right or claim to obeisance, any more than a constitution, however beneficial and admirable, made by Joseph Napolean would have given him over the peninsula,) Ferdinand has reassumed his sceptre and torn to pieces that celebrated act. And now by what new act have the Americans re-established the authority of the son of Maria Luisa, which being null in its origin, he had himself abdicated and lost by repeated and subsequent acts of infamy and cruelty?

Allow us to recall to remembrance the scenes of the Escorial, Aranjuez and Bayonne. In 1807, Ferdinand is declared a traitor to his father and unworthy of succeeding to the crown. In 1808, the scene changes at Araujuez, and Charles the fourth used with violence by the same faction, which was stifled at the Escorial, cedes the crown to the son, proclaimed amidst the disturbances of the court. The old pupil of Godoy escapes to France, to seek the protection of the emperor; who, in the conferences of Bayonne, causes the diadem to be restored, in order to accept it himself, and place it on the head of his brother Joseph.

This kingly, comic, transaction has been represented to us by the central junta and regency, under the veil of exalted exclamations tending to move all our sensibility, in behalf of the misfortunes of that youth, in whose party they were engaged. And thence it is, that they despatched executive orders to America, to apprehend the parent king, and his suite, in case they appeared in these coasts, and to remit them to Spain under arrest.† That tender enthusiasm, imposed upon us by our compassion and hopes, being subsided, who can discover less violence in the renunciations of Bayonne, than in that of Aranjuez? Was the presence of Bonaparte more imposing to

* Proclamation and pardon of the vice roy of Lima, 14th March.

† Cedule of the 12th August, 1808, and orders of 1st March, 1809, and 26th June, 1810.

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Ferdinand, than the presence of a mob at the gates of his palace, to Charles the fourth? The Bourbons have abandoned the nation against the will of the people, and by this act they have lost even those obscure rights upon which their dynasty was raised. A nation left without a chief, on account of their domestic quarrels, could not belong to those emigrants. Ferdinand, from Valencay, could not keep in his hand the extremity of the noose, or speaking more properly, of the chain, which fastens America.

When Spain declared war against Denmark, they said in their manifesto—"If this power is oppressed, and subject to the will of Napoleon, Spain declares her war as against a province of France."* Why do they not hold the same language with respect to Ferdinand, a prisoner, or rather, willingly given up to the disposal of the emperor? Will the world ever forget the base, horrid, and sacrilegeous denunciation, by which he betrayed the Baron de Kolly, engaged in saving him from the castle, with the intervention and credentials of George the 3d.† Considering as false the report of Mr. Bertheny, the commander of that fort, in which he states, that Ferdinand in his communication dared to assert, "that England continued to shed blood on his name, deceived by the false idea that he was forcibly detained there." Supposing even that his letter to Napoleon, requesting him to adopt him for his son, should be a fabrication, (accusations of which he has not cleared himself) is not the infamy of such denunciation sufficient to deprive the informer of the character of *a prince?* How do they dare to bind us with that oath, taken without our consent, to oblige our consiences in an epoch full of perplexities and tumultuous afflictions, at the sight of promises which have never been complied with, and in circumstances, that have, long ago, ceased to exist? But for the commissioners engaged in the destruction of America, the theatre never changes: their object is to annihilate her; and it is the same for them to commit hostilities in the name of the constitution, as in the name of the despot who tramples under foot that same constitution, which they came to announce to us.

Such has been the conduct of Osorio in Chile; it is necessary to repeat it: he enters with the sword in one hand and the code in the other. We show him, (and he knew it himself before hand) that it has been annulled by Ferdinand; with the same facility, he fights for the law, or for the enemy of the law. Can justice, a virtue invariable and constantly the same in all times and climates, be supported upon contradictory bases and discordant interests? No: it is not justice that gave to the tyrant the victory of the 2d of October, 1814: it is not justice that suggested to him to set fire to the hospital, where our wounded soldiers were: It was not justice that fired the gun on the victims who fled for refuge to the churches of Ramagua: Justice did not authorize the violences by which the sanctuary of religion and

* Manifest of the 4th October, 1809.

† Vide the documents in the work El Espanol, No. 2—30th May, 1810.

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innocence were polluted. Justice did not put in their sacrilegious hands the vases of priesthood to be used in their backanalias. Justice did not cover with blood the roads from Talcuhuana to the capital, that these traces of death might serve to show the way to the head quarters of the Sicaris, where, our most respectable citizens, wandering in the mountains, were obliged to present themselves to be transported to the rock of Juan Fernandez. Justice did not sharpen the knife which stuck the nine persons murdered in the prisons under pretence of a supposed conspiracy, without any other trial than the ferocity of the perpetrators of the catastrophe of Quito. It is not justice that has cast into the casemates* so many deserving persons, who have been snatched from their families, without any form of trial, and are now lamenting their orphanage, and the refusal of an exchange of prisoners, the visier of Peru sacrificing the fate of his own mercenaries rather than to ameliorate the fate of our fellow citizens. It was not justice, that erected the four scaffolds, for the recreation of the coward modern Baptus,† and which he ordered to be immediately taken away from the public square, at the news of the triumph of the 12th of February, 1817, the anniversary of which day we celebrate. (Aracabuco.)

Justice granted to Chile that day of glory and splendor, well satisfied that by two years and half sufferings we had atoned for our undue tolerance, and our blindness in not knowing that by tolerance we betrayed the sacred *rights* of our *country*, belied the necessity of *independence*, and the sincere wish of the people, that proclaimed it with so much the more eagerness that they had just learnt, at the school of tyranny, that independence is the only desirble end of this bloody struggle of seven years; that the inability and impotence of our aggressors, and of the despot they serve, had become evident; that the idol and his name had tumbled to the ground; and that we ought not, any longer, be guilty of the meanness of invoking him, when Spain herself, after being chilled by his ingratitude, on his reascending the throne, tears herself in the convulsion of a paralysis that carries her to her last consumption.

Such is the state of that unfortunate nation, rendered less miserable by the fierceness of the monster, than by the obstinate tenacity of keeping her engaged in this destructive struggle, in which, after losing all the acquisitions of the first conquest, she will remain excluded forever from the sole relations with which she might have repaired the losses of twenty-five years. Spain existed by America; now she receives nothing from her, and she is obliged to strain her funds to fight her. No body can she seduce now in the state of poverty which devours her. Should a miraculous effort enable her to send over some gladiators, these men cannot be indifferent to the re-

* Horrible dungeons in the Callao of Lima.

† Marco, successor of Ossorio, is not less remarkable for his cruelties than for his effeminacy, resembling that of the Baptos, so much despised in ancient Greece. The mentioned tyranical acts are recorded judicially in our archives.

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luctance of abandoning their native soil to descend to the grave at such a distance from their cradle, and they will be convinced, that they are engaged in an undertaking in which any ephemeral triumph will hardly make them resemble the bird, cutting the air, which closes again after it has passed. Morillo, with the best army that Spain has sent out, and with all the other divisions, is a proof of it. Whilst they occupy a place, the insurrection rages in others; and finally all the disseminated mass of the conquerors comes to be consumed in the centre of the conflagration. The combustion is universal; the space is immense, and the fire of the revolution unextinguishable. We will not belong to an insignificant nation, when we do not want for any thing, and who being in want of us, only seeks us to kill us. We will not belong to a nation unfaithful in her promises, violating her contract, and contradictory in her principles, who intends to affirm these pretensions of her decrepit usurpation; and of a dynasty divested by itself even of the appearances of right, and make us responsible to the rest of our brethren nobly emancipated, to the improvement of the age, which venerates liberty as the goddess of civilization; to our posterity who from the sign of his future existence awaits for the happy turn in which they are to enter, without trouble in the enjoyment of days of order, honor, and peace, their fathers bought for them with their blood; to all human kind who can now rely with secure and abundant places of refuge in these regions, blessed by the Creator, and formerly shut by proud ambition to the hospitality of men unwilling to become slaves; to nature who placed in our mind the sense of choice and merit incompatible with slavery; and finally to Heaven itself who has unfolded the list of the nations and has pointed out the place we were to occupy in the rank of the independants.

Chile has obeyed its call. The solemn act of the 1st of January, 1818, is the expression of the individual vote, and the result of all private determinations. She has not deferred her revolution until the convocation of a congress, difficult to assemble in the effervescence of war; she has dictated herself the measure which, in all circumstances, would have been sanctioned by her representatives, faithful to the trust, and confidence of their constituents. When the latter will depute them, the representatives will ascend the altar of the law, invested with all the plenitude of sovereignty required to proclaim it. This epoch is getting nearer, as the expiring remants of our enemies fly terrified. In the mean time, to defend the magna charta, every citizen runs spontaneously to arms. A veteran army of twelve thousand brave men, and the enlisting of the militia, without exemption, are the pledge and the eternal foundation of our INDEPENDENCE.

Free people of the universe! you who behold the basis of your sovereignty, secured by this new monument of justice, upon which Chile has raised its own, decide, in this fatal struggle, between humanity and the vain spirit of domination; learn to Spain, that

the former is the origin and object of every government, and ask her, then, who is to give up? By uniting your vows to ours, you will stop the blood, which overflows vigorous America, and draws the last breath of expiring Spain. If you are touched by our destinies, convince her of her impotence, and of the mutual advantages of our independence; let her be affected by her own evils, and by those we have suffered during three centuries; inspire her with a comparative feeling on her fate and ours; and when calculating candidly the consequences that threatens her, she lays down her arms, and sacrifices to justice and liberality, the illusions which precipitate her to her ruin, assure her, on our honor, that generous Chile will open her heart to the friendship of her brethren, and participate with them, under the glorious empire of the laws, in all the benefits of their immutable INDEPENDENCE.

BERNARDO O'HIGGINS.

Directorial Palace of Chile,
12th February, 1818.

MIGUEL ZANARTU, *Secretary of State.*

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of Chile, and the privateers that have been commissioned.

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A Statement of the ... and National Marine

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of Chile, and the privateers that have been commissioned.

VESSELS OF WAR.		PRIVATEERS.
The ship Lautaro of	52 guns	The ship Minerva
The frigate San Martin	36	The brig Chileno
The frigate Chacabuco	22	The brig Furioso
The corvette Coquimbo	22	The brig Rayo
The brig Aquila	18	The brig Maypu
The brig Buenos	14	
Three gun boats		These are the privateers commissioned by the secretary of the marine; but it is not yet known whether any have been armed by virtue of commissions sent to Buenos Ayres, and other points of America; nor, for the present, the particulars relative to the arming of some other vessels.
One sloop		

Santiago, 8th July, 1818.

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LIST OF PAPERS.

1. The Secretary of State to J. R. Poinsett, Esq. 23d Oct. 1818.
2. Mr. Poinsett to the Secretary of State, 4th Nov. 1818, with two enclosures on South American affairs, marked A and B.

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[COPY.]

MR. ADAMS to MR. POINSETT.

Department of State,
Washington, 23d Oct. 1818.

J. R. Poinsett, Esq. Charleston, South Carolina,

SIR,

I am directed by the President of the United States, to request of you such information, in relation to the affairs of South America, as your long residence in that country, and the sources of intelligence from thence which have remained open to you since your return, have enabled you to collect, and which you may think it useful to the public to communicate to the executive government of this union.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

(Copy.)

MR. POINSETT TO MR. ADAMS.

Columbia, 4th November, 1818.

SIR,

In conformity with the request of the President of the United States, contained in your letter of the 23d of October, I have the honor to transmit to you such information as I possess in relation to the affairs of South America.

I regret that my absence from Charleston, where most of my documents are, does not allow me to enter more into detail, and to give a fuller description of those countries.

As the executive will doubtless have received from the commissioners ample information with regard to the recent occurrences at Buenos Ayres and Chile, I have only brought down the events of the revolution to the period of their arrival at Buenos Ayres. In

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the course of this narrative, I have confined myself to facts; for I thought it unnecessary to dwell on the motives which induced the Creoles to shake off the Spanish yoke; the oppression under which they laboured, the severe and absurd restrictions upon their commerce and industry, are too notorious to require a comment; and the situation of the mother country, not only justified, but rendered it necessary for them to establish for themselves an internal government.

By letters which I have received since the return of the commissioners from Buenos Ayres, I learn that the Portuguese forces are in the possession of the principal places on the eastern shore of the Uraguay, and of the country between the Parana and Uraguay. Their advanced posts extend to the Corientes. The Royal forces in Upper Peru are posted at the defiles of Jujui, and are in possession of the country above Salta. The forces of Buenos Ayres, under the command of Belgrano, are at Tucuman. By the last victory gained by the Patriots of Chile on the plains of Maipu, the Royalists have been driven within the fortifications of Talcahuano.

I have the honor to be,

With great respect, sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

(Signed) J. R. POINSETT.

To the Honorable John Quincy Adams,
Secretary of State.

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(A)

The government of Spanish America is confided to the council of the Indies. Their authority over the colonies is unlimited; they are the source of all favor, and have the presentation to all civil and ecclesiastical appointments; they constitute likewise a court of appeal from the decision of the audiences.

The vice roy is commander in chief, governor, intendant of the the province where he resides, and president of the royal audience, and other tribunals. As commander in chief he is assisted by a council of general officers; and as governor, by an assesor and legal counsellors. He assists with great ceremony at the session of the royal audiences, which tribunal watches his conduct, and has a legal control over his actions; and he in turn renders an account to the council of the Indies of the public acts, and private conduct of the members of the audience. The vice roy is not allowed to trade or to form any connexion with the people of his government; and it was not customary for him to enter any private house. The laws of the Indies which in theory are calculated to protect the colonists and Indians from oppression, grant him almost regal powers, but restrain the arbitrary exercise of them by the resposibility attached to any abuse of authority. At the expiration of his office, a commission is appointed to inquire into his past conduct, and all people including the Indians are called upon to prefer charges against him, and state any grievance or vexation they may have experienced during his administration. This residencia as it is called, has become an unmeaning ceremony. The royal audience, which is the supreme court in the colonies, is composed of the vice roy who is the President of a Regent, three oidores; two fiscals; a reporter and an anguazil.

The law lays both them and their families under the severest restrictions, and the president is enjoined to watch their conduct, and to receive and transmit to the king an annual statement of their acts.

They constitute the last court of appeal in America. The vice roy is recommended to consult them in all emergencies of the state; but is left at liberty to act as he thinks proper. Where the authority of the president interfers with their decisions they may remonstrate, but his will is executed. They have the privilege of corresponding directly with the king, and may make any representations they think proper on the conduct of the vice roy.

When the functions of the vice roy are suspended by sickness or death, the regent is his legal representative.

Of the cabildo we have already spoken. Besides the acaldes of this body, there is a criminal judge. The city is divided into barrio, or quarters, and each quarter has an alcade de borrio, or justice. There are likewise justices of the peace or lieutenants of justice, as

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they are called, whose jurisdiction extends over a certain district of country. They are accountable to the governor, and are appointed for two years.

The military and clergy claims their fuero, that is, the right of being judged by their peers, and an esprit de corps generally screenes the culprit from justice.

The spirit of litigation pervades all classes, interrups the harmony of society, and destroys the confidence and affection which ought to reign in families and among near connexions. The lawyers are a numerous body, and the practice is not, as in the Unitcd States, an open appeal to impartial justice; but the art of multiplying acts and of procrastinating decisions untill the favour of the judge is secured by influence and bribery.

The ecclesiastical jurisdiction belongs exclusively to the king and council of the Indies. The pope has ceded all his pontifical rights except that of issuing bulls of confirmation, and even these are limited to the candidate presented by the king of Spain.

The bishop, assisted by a fiscal, and a provisior, forms the highest ecclesiastical tribunal; the business is transacted by the provisior, and the bishops assist only in cases which concern ecclesiastics of rank. The ecclesiastical tribunals have cognizance in all cases of a spiritual nature, and which concern ecclesiastics; and in all questions arising from pious donations and legacies. The ecclesiastical fuero or privileges, are extensive; it is sometimes (although very rarely) mixed, as when the plaintiff is an ecclesiastic, and the defendant a layman, the cause is tried by a secular tribunal, and vice versa.

Buenos Ayres has a chapter consisting of a dean, a sub-dean, and chapter, and certain number of prebendaries.

The parishes are served by rectoral curates; and doctrinal curates officiate in the Indian settlements and villages which are divided into doctrines. The former derive their revenue from the fees of baptism, marriage, and interments, which the latter are forbid to receive, but have an allowance from the treasury. Priests have been frequently employed in the administration of the public affairs, and have had great influence over the minds of the people, and a powerful agency in subduing and attaching them to the sovereign of Spain.

The zeal of the missionaries in this part of South America effected more than the arms of the first adventurers, who, after they had conquered the country, were repeatedly cut off by insurrections of the natives, roused to desperstion by their rapacity and oppression.

The conquest of Paraguay by the Jesuits; their large establishments on the Uruguay; the privileges granted them by the king in order that they might prove their assertion if left to themselves, and not intruded upon by the Spaniards, they would subdue the Indians of that extensive territory, and convert them to the catholic faith; their rigid policy in detecting and sending out of their limits any one whom curiosity or interest might have tempted to trespass on their erritory; the rapid subjection and conversion of the tribes on the

Uraguay and Paraguay who were incorporated with the Guaranis Indians; their submission to the organization of the Jesuits, who distributed the day into periods of work, recreation, and devotion, and established after the manner of the Moravians, a common magazine for the reception of the produce of their industry, and dealt out to them according to the number of members in a family, the necessary articles of food and clothing; the frequent attacks made upon them by the unsubdued tribes, and the depredations committed by the Mamalukes, the lawless inhabitants of the Portuguese frontier, and of Saint Pablo; the jealousy excited by the flourishing state of these settlements about the period of the expulsion of the Jesuits from Europe; the resistance made to the decrees sent against them from Spain; and the final destruction of their power, and confiscation of their possessions are facts frequently treated of, and in the hands of every one. There is a fund still devoted for the propagation of the christian faith, and to the payment of missionaries, who transfer the converted Indians to the doctrines, where they are placed under the charge of doctrinal curates.

In the jurisdictions of Moxos and Chignitors there are some missionary settlements, where the missionaries enjoy nearly the same privileges which were formerly extended to the Jesuits, but they are not animated with the same zeal or by the same ambition, and the progress of civilization has been very slow in those countries. The missionaries are forbidden to exact any compensation from the Indians for the performance of any catholic rite, but this regulation, like all the excellent and philanthropic laws instituted by the council of Indies to protect the wretched Indians from the rapacity of the Europeans, is evaded by a shameful traffic in images, rosaries, and scapularies, and by receiving presents and exacting work from the Indians, notwithstanding the laws expressly exempt them from that obligation.

In the first conquest of these countries, the Spaniards profitted by the feuds which they found existing among the different nations of Indians; they brought them into the field against each other, and the first adventurers were successively their allies and conquerors.

The Indians were sold into captivity, and thousands perished under the hard treatment of their inhuman masters, until the noble efforts of Las Casas, and other friends of humanity, drew the attention of the Spanish court to their sufferings. Commissioners were then despatched from Madrid to inquire into these abuses, and to suggest the means of reforming them, and of alleviating the condition of the Indians. The first attempt at amelioration was the Repartimuntos de Indios, by which they were divided among the Spaniards, who had the profits of their labor without a right of property in their persons. Next, the encomiendas, by which they were placed under the superintendance and protection of the Spaniards. The encomendero was bound to live in the district which contained the Indians of his encomienda, to watch over their conduct, instruct and civilize

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them, to protect them from all unjust persecutions, and to prevent their being imposed on in trafficking with the Spaniards. In return for these services they received a tribute in labor or produce. The abuse of these protecting regulations followed closely their institution.

The encomiendas were granted to Spaniards who never were in the country. The Indians were hired out, and the most exorbitant tribute was exacted of them. In order to check these abuses, it was decreed, that the amount of tribute received from encomienda, should not exceed two thousand dollars, the surplus to be paid into the treasury. They were made inalienable and reverted to the crown. All these regulations were found ineffectual to secure the Indians against the rapacity of the encomenderos, and encomiendas were abolished. The Indians were next confided to the care and protection of the missionaries and of doctrinal curates. The last regulation in their favor, gave them magistrates of their own choice, superintended, however, by a corrogider, to prevent the Indian alcaldes from committing excesses in the exercise of their authority.

In the vice royalty of Peru, the Indians were subject to a tribute to the crown, levied on males only, from the age of ten to fifty. It was collected by the corregidor, who had the power of exempting such as were unable from sickness or bad seasons, to make up the sum. They could enter into no legal contract or sale, without the consent of the corrigidor, or make any conveyance of real estate. Their lands were sometimes seized, and sold to satisfy the tribute, and in that way only could a transfer be made or a legal title obtained for Indian lands. The Indians were burdened with a personal service to the crown, called the mita; this was a conscription raised among those subject to the tribute, in order to work the mines of Potosi. Thousands of these unfortunate people were marched every year to Potosi, and although the period of service was only eighteen months, they were attended by a numerous train of friends and relations, who, on the eve of their entering the mines, sang melancholy dirges, and sounding a horn in solemn strains, mourned over them with all the ceremonies which they used to evince their sorrow on the death of a relative. Their wives and children remained with the conscripts, who harrassed by a long march, seldom resisted more than a year the excessive labor and noxious air of the mines. The Indians of Peru have the appearance of habitual melancholy, and still wear mourning for the destruction of their Incas. According to an ancient prophecy, they expect to be one day delivered from their oppressors by a descendent of the Incas, who is to revive the former glory of the nation. They are prohibited from carrying any weapon, or from exercising any trade which might render them familiar with the use of fire arms. This law has been so strictly executed, that the unsubdued tribes are not dangerous enemies, and for more than a century have not disturbed the tranquillity of the Spanish settlers; and the attempts made by the civilized Indians to recover their for-

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mer independence, have been more easily defeated. The Indians hand down from father to son the remembrance of their wrongs, and constantly watch some opportunity to revenge them.

The insurrection in 1778, was the most formidable known since the conquest, and laid in ruins some of the finest towns of Upper Peru. Oruro was totally destroyed, and La Paz lost the greater part of its inhabitants by famine, whilst it was blockaded by the Indians. Had they known the use of fire arms, the whole of the white population of those provinces would have been destroyed. The revolutionary government immediately on its installation, released from the service of the mita, which was the most obnoxious to them, and from the vassalage in which they were held by their magistrates. The tribute was continued from necessity, as it afforded a revenue which could not be relinquished at this period. In 1814, they were relieved from the payment of the tribute, and have taken an active part in favor of the Creoles.

The intendant of the province is the chief of every branch of the administration of finance; he is assisted by an assessor, who reports on all questions of law. The intendant may reject his decision, and either determine on his own responsibility or consult another lawyer. The tribunal de cuentas, over which he presides, consists of a contador mayor, and a treasurer, they examine and verify all accounts. There is, morever, a supreme court of finance. This court, of which the intendant is president, is composed of the regent of the royal audience, (chief justice) the contador mayor, the treasurer, and the solicitor of the tribunal of accounts. These members, when their sentences are appealed from, do not assist at the session. The customs are collected by an administrator of the customs, and a treasurer, their accounts are received by the tribunal de cuentas.

By the Spanish colonial laws, the taxes were levied on the product alone. The alcavala was reduced to five per cent. on every transfer of property, and every contract of sale. The retail dealer generally paid a composition, which was calculated annually on the value of their stock.

The almoxarifasgo, is a duty on entry, and varies from fifteen to five per cent. The corso, is a duty of two per cent. applied to support the guarda costas; and the consulate, one and an half on imports and exports; this last, goes to defray the expenses of the consulado, or board of trade. There is an excise on distilleries. The pulperias, or small grocery stores pay, independent of the alcavala, a certain sum per annum, about thirty-five dollars, for license to retail liquors. A fund was formerly derived from the sale of lands, and from the royal domains. The treasury receives the rents of vacant bishopricks, and prebendaries until the new dignity is in possession; and the half yearly product of all offices. Notaries, attorneys, receivers of the customs, tax gatherers, excise officers, &c. pay a fine to the crown, in proportion to the value of their office. Ecclesiastics pay the amount of the first month of their benefice.

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All articles seized on account of illicit trade, after paying the duties, are divided among the informer, the intendant, the captors, and the crown. The bull areas, and cockpits, belong to the king. A considerable revenue is derived from stamps; the highest, cost six dollars; and all deeds and titles, as also papers signed by chief officers of the administration, must be written on this paper. If the instrument cannot be contained in a single sheet, the rest is written on a stamped paper of a dollar. Contracts and wills, must be written on stamped paper, which costs one dollar and a half the sheet. Every document presented in the courts of law, must be on stamped paper the sheet; and all petitions presented by the poor, and by Indians, must be written on stamped paper of the sixteenth of a dollar.

The paper ready stamped was sent from Spain, and was renewed every two years.

For some t me, the treasury received one fifth of the product of the mines; it was afterwards reduced to one tenth.

The mint affords a further revenue by the exclusive sale of quicksilver, and by coining.

The monopoly of tobacco is another article of revenue. The administrador de tobaccos, grants licenses to cultivate, and establishes shops to retail tobacco. These estancos, as they are called, are kept by persons who receive a certain per centage on the sales; and who give security, to account for all the tobacco put into their hands. The other monopolies, salt, cards, &c. &c. are not productive. The post office is in the hands of government, and yields a considerable revenue.

The Indians who were subdued, paid a capitation tax. It included all males from 10 to 50 years of age, and amounted to between five and seven dollars. This tribute was collected by the corregidor, who had the power of dispensing with the payment when, from indisposition or bad seasons, the Indian was supposed to be deprived of the means of acquiring the amount. They could enforce it by the sale of their lands. The only legal purchase of lands belonging to Indians, was at these sales; in every other transaction they were considered as minors; and no contract or bargain was valid until it received the sanction of the corregidor.

The ecclesiastical dominion of the Spanish American colonies was yielded by the bull of Alexander the VI, to the sovereign of Spain. Tithes were established in America by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1501; and in 1541, Charles the Fifth ordained that the proceeds of the tithes should be divided into four parts; one to be appropriated to the bishop; another to the chapter; and out of the other two, that they should set aside two ninths for the king, three for building and repairing churches, and the remaining four ninths for the payment of curates and officiating ecclesiastics. This regulation continues in force, and the tithes are farmed and sold in each province to the highest bidder.

The sale of the bulls of the Crusade, produces a very conside-

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rable revenue. The general bull is bought by all the faithful, and is divided into classes according to the rank and fortune of the purchaser. Vice roys and their wives, pay fifteen dollars; the chief dignitaries, civil, ecclesiastical, and military, and all possessed of fortunes exceeding twelve thousand dollars, pay five dollars; all possessed of fortunes exceeding six thousand dollars, pay one and a half dollars; all other persons pay thirty-one and a half cents. The virtues of this bull are various; but the most useful is the dispensation from fasting on Fridays, and almost all lent. The bull to eat milk and eggs, is likewise divided into classes; the first costs six dollars, the second three dollars, the third one and a half dollars, and the fourth thirty-eight cents.

The bulls of composition are bought by those who have obtained money or goods by unlawful means. All classes pay two and a half dollars for this bull.

The bull for the dead, lessens the term, or entirely releases the soul, from purgatory; the first class costs seventy-five cents, and the second twenty-five cents.

The bulls of the holy Crusade are printed on very coarse paper, and the name of the purchaser is written at full length.

In the vice royalty of Buenos Ayres, the ninths of the sale of bulls and the administration of the confiscated lands of the Jesuits, formed a branch of the revenue under the title of temporalidades.

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The following Tables present the State of the Treasury of Buenos Ayres, from January, 1811, and subsequently to January, 1812.

Remaining in the Treasury from		Received.	Paid.	Balance in hands.
Temporalidades - - - - -	8,456 4½	4,706 5¼	9,163 2½	399 7½
Tobacco - - - - -	12,386 6½	11,115 4½	14,352 1¾	9,149 1½
Post Office - - - - -	1,842 3¾	3,601 3½	3,947 2¾	1,456 5
Customhouse - - - -	100,571 5½	161,738 6¼	159,068 7½	103,241 4¼
From the royal Hacienda - -	21,177 4¾	119,933 1¼	238,529 1¼	2,581 4½
				$116,868 6¾

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Remaining in the Treasury from		Received.	Paid.	Balance in hand.
Temporalidades - - - - -	17,007 4½	5,663 4¾	17,814 4¾	4,856 4½
Tobacco - - - - - - -	25,027 1¼	14,393 1	27,033 3¾	12,386 6½
Post Office - - - - -	4,274 6¼	1,525 7	2,158 1⅛	1,842 3¾
Customhouse - - - - -	144,141 6½	105,832 1⅞	149,095 6½	100,878 1⅜
Royal Hacienda - - - -	12,775 ½	235,959 7¾	227,557 3½	21,177 4¾
		Balance in hand March 1, 1811,		$ 141,141 4⅞

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A summary view of the trade of Spanish America will complete this exposition of their colonial policy.

It is scarcely necessary to recapitulate all the vexations imposts with which the Spanish government oppressed the internal commerce of the kingdom. Of all these the alcabala was the most destructive of the national prosperity. It consisted of a duty varying from six to four per cent. upon every transfer of property and every contract of sale. The millones was an excise on the prime necessaries of life, and was generally compounded for with the government by the municipalities. In consequence of which the magistrates established public magazines, at which all taxed commodities were to be purchased, and such who were found to have any articles of monopoly, not obtained from the mazines, were prosecuted with the utmost rigour. Almost all these regulations with the royal monopolies of brandy, cards, lead, saltpetre, sulphur, gunpowder, sealing-wax, quicksilver, salt and tobacco were extended to the colonies where their pernicious effects were more sensibly felt than in the mother country. The trade between Spain and the colonies was confined to particular classes in both countries until Charles the V allowed all his Castilian subjects to fit out expeditions from the principal ports of Spain, but exacted, under the penalties of death and confiscation, that they should return to the port of Seville, which became the emporium of the American trade. The personal influence of the inhabitants increasing with their wealth, they induced the government to withdraw the pemission to clear out from other ports. In 1720, when the navigation of the river was impeded by sand bars and became unfit to admit vessels of burden, the monopoly with all its advantages was transferred to Cadiz. Twenty-seven vessels were fitted out for the annual supply of Peru, Chile, and Terra Firma; and every three years, twenty-three were despatched to Mexico and the northern provinces. The colonists were prohibited from trading with foreigners or with Spanish vessels not included in their periodical fleets, and also from trading with each other. Peru could not receive supplies from Mexico, or Buenos Ayres from Terra Firma. No Spaniard could interfere with the trade of the interior, nor could any colonist embark his goods to Spain on his own account. A board of trade, established at Seville in the sixteenth century, regulated the extent, assortment, and distribution of the periodical cargoes. No person could load or land articles from the return cargoes without a license from this board, The galleons could not touch at any port or break bulk on their passage out or home. The triennial supplies could only be distributed over the northern colonies, and the annual galleons were appropriated to the settlements of the south.—These were extremely limitted, it being supposed that the crown had an interest in making the same amount of duties fall upon a small supply of goods, that the duties might be more easily levied, and that the colonist might be made to pay the whole. The duties were levied in the form of direct customs on the goods exported, or of fees and dues for licenses on tonnage. An impost was laid on the bulk

of the articles shipped without regard to their nature or value. The indulto was a duty on the produce imported from the colonies, and fixed anew by government every time the fleets returned from America. The declining state of the Spanish manufactories; and the inability of the mother country to furnish the necessary supplies of goods, obliged the council of Indies to use foreign articles; but they forced them to pass through the hands of the merchants of Seville, and afterwards of Cadiz. The profits of the monopolists of Cadiz were one hundred and seventy per cent. on goods bought in America, and two hundred and fifty on goods sold there. The import and export duties were exorbitant. Colonial produce bore a very high price in Spain, and the colonists purchased the necessary articles with this monstrous accumulation of profits and charges. Ulloa mentions, that, in Quito, a pound of iron sold for a dollar, and one of steel for one dollar and fifty cents. The contraband trade was in consequence very extensive, but although this gave the colonists a more abundant supply, it did not diminish the prices; the profits of the smugglers always bearing a proportion to the risk of entering the goods, and to the profits of legal commerce. In 1740, expeditions separate from the periodical fleets were permitted to sail from the American colonies to ports formerly debarred all direct intercourse with Spain. The high prices paid by these registered ships for licenses amounted to a heavy duty on exports. In 1748, the permission was extended to other ports, but was soon restored exclusively to Cadiz. In 1764, regular packet boats were first established, and sailed from Corunna to the chief ports of America. Although permitted to trade, their cargoes were limited in extent, and to Spanish produce. They were obliged to sail from and return to Corunna. In 1765, the trade of the windward colonies was laid open to several ports of Spain. The Palmeo was commuted to a duty of six per cent. on exports, and ships were cleared without licenses. The grant which had already included Louisiana, was extended in 1770, to Yucatan and Campeachy. In 1766, the Cotton trade was opened to Catalonia, duty free, and 1772 to the other provinces. In 1774, colonial produce, duty free, was permitted to be imported into several ports of Spain. In 1778, the ordinance of 1765 was extended to Buenos Ayres, Chile, and Peru, and soon after to Santa Fe and Guatimala. This last ordinance granted some abatement of duties to vessels laden with Spanish produce and to the precious metals, which had hitherto paid an enormous duty of entrance. The jealousy of extending the benefits of their trade to foreigners yielded to the necessity of supplying the colonies with slaves. The Spaniards were incapable of conducting this traffic, and for a certain time it was in the hands of a class of merchants in France. By the treaty of Utrecht the assiento was transferred to Great Britain. The contraband trade which the English mingled with the importation of slaves, brought on a war, and put a stop to this foreign monopoly. The slave trade was then transferred to a private company whose entrepot was Porto Rico. The total failure of this com-

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pany, obliged the government to take the supply into their own hands, and the incapacity of the Spanish merchants to conduct this complicated trade, forced them to contract with a British commercial house for an annual supply of three thousand slaves. For one year the Philippine company introduced into Buenos Ayres nearly four thousand. In 1789, the slave trade with the islands and with Caracca was thrown open to Spaniards and foreigners. Several exclusive companies have been formed since the commencement of the eighteenth century, but the Philippine company alone survived the restrictions and extravagant duties imposed on their trade by the government. The profits of this company are represented to have been very inconsiderable, not exceeding three or four per cent. On the 12th of October, 1778, the council of Indies issued a decree of free commerce. The vessels were to belong exclusively to Spaniards and to be of national construction. All the officers and two-thirds of the crew to be Spanish. This decree confined the free trade to a few ports, but subsequent regulations extended the privilege to all the chief ports in Spain. The ports of the colonies were divided into major and minor ports, and some privileges were granted to the latter in order to encourage them. The exports from Spain were divided into three classes, the articles of the growth and manufacture of the mother country were called free articles, and paid nine and a half per cent. duty. The second class consisted of articles only of the manufacture of Spain, and paid twelve and a half per cent. duty. The third class included all foreign goods shipped to the colonies through Spain. They paid fifteen per cent. entry into Spain, seven per cent. export, and seven per cent. entry into America; and with the maritime alcabala, the consultate, and other charges, the duties amounted to thirty-three and a third per cent. In 1778, the exports to the colonies were made in 170 ships, were worth 74 millions of reals vellon, and paid 32 millions duty. The imports of the same year were made in 130 ships, valued at 7¼ millions, and paid nearly three millions duty. In 1778, the value of exports was 500 millions, and of imports 804½ millions, and the duties exceed 55 millions. In Buenos Ayres the receipts of the customs, in

1791, were	$ 336,532
1792,	468,850
1793,	423,623
1794,	407,984
1795,	310,858

The average of five years was 389,569 dollars. It appears that in 1796, the exports to Buenos Ayres amounted to 2,853,944 dollars, and the imports from that port to 5,058,882 dollars. The latter consisted of 878,593 ox hides, 43,752 horse hides, 24,436 skins, 46,800 arrobas, (25 pounds) 771 arrobas of Vicuna, wool 2,251 arrobas of common wool, 291 guanaco wool, 11,890 goose wings, 451,000 horns,

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3,228 hundred weight of copper, 4 hundred weight of tin, 2,541 tanned hides, 222 dozen of dressed sheep skins, 2,128 hundred weight of jerked beef, and 185 cured pork, valued at 1,076,877 dollars, and the remainder, 2,556,304 in gold and silver. In they year 1802, after the peace of Amiens, the receipts in Buenos Ayres were 857,702 dollars. Shortly after the war broke out between England and Spain, the invasion of these provinces by sir Home Popham, opened a new era in the trade of Buenos Ayres. This officer on his return to England, wrote a circular to the merchants, setting forth the extension and lucrative market, opened by this conquest to the trade of the British empire. The want of markets in Europe at that period, and the exaggerated picture of commercial advantages, presented by sir Home Popham, occasioned great speculation to be made to the river Plate, and large convoys of merchantment accompanied the expeditions of sir Samuel Auchmuty, to Montevideo, and of general Whitelocke to Buenos Ayres. Montevideo, during the short time it remained in the hands of the English, afforded a very limited market, and the total failure of general Whitelocke's expedition, obliged the merchants to return to England, without having made any considerable sales. The loss experienced on this occasion, was attributed altogether to the defeat of general Whitelocke, and an opinion still prevailed among the merchants in London, that the markets of Spanish America, if opened to their trade, would enable them to bear the loss of the commerce of the continent, and to be at least equal to that in the United States. After the British troops had evacuated the provinces of La Plata, the clamours of the people obliged the vice roy to open the ports to neutrals. Some Americans traded to the river Plata; but the high duties and restrictions discouraged the commercial spirit, even of our own countrymen. The trade was very limitted, and principally carried on by English and Spanish capital, covered by the American flag, and the goods were introduced by bribery, or by favor of the vice roy. The revolution in Spain, put a stop to another attempt of the British to obtain possession of these colonies. The deposition of the Spanish authorities, and the establishment of the junta in Buenos Ayres, again opened the ports of the river Plate to the British flag. Eager to realize their former dreams of commercial prosperity, a large capital was immediately turned into this channel. Entirely ignorant of the consumption of the country, and of the wants of the inhabitants, they overstocked the market with every article of British manufacture. The quantity of merchandise brought into these ports, during the first six months, was equal to the former consumption of six years; and skaits and warming pans were seen dangling in the shops of Buenos Ayres and Montevideo. The former, exorbitant duties continued to be levied with so little regard to justice, that frequently the merchants not only lost the prime cost and freight of the articles, but had a further sum to pay for duties; and several petitions were presented, praying to be allowed to abandon the goods in satisfaction of

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the duties. The monthly receipts of customs in Buenos Ayres, during the year 1810, sometimes exceeded two hundred thousand dollars, and the aggregate of that year, was two million two hundred and ten thousand dollars. From the state of the market in Buenos Ayres, the merchants in England were ruined by the slowness of the returns, and many found it necessary to instruct their agents to make any sacrifice, and to sell at any price. Sales at auction, to an immense amount, were consequently made below the first cost of the articles. The effect of these sales, was to reduce the price of all English manufactures, and I afterwards saw English prints and calicoes retailed in the shops of Mendoza, a distance of three hundred leagues from the coast, below the retailed price in London. The English agent, who received his per centage on the sales, and the Spanish or native consignee, whom the law obliged him to employ, was enriched, but the principals in England failed. Frequent attempts were made to prevail upon the government of Buenos Ayres, to simplify the manner of collecting their duties, and establish a tariff of their own, independent of the absurd and complex regulations of Spain. A more liberal system was, with difficulty, extorted from them. The monopolies were abolished. The obligation to employ a Spanish or native consignee was done away, and foreign merchants permitted to enter their ships and dispose of their cargoes in their own name. At the commencement of the revolution the exportation of silver was permitted on payment of five per cent. duty. It was afterwards prohibited, but the government finding it impossible to prevent it being smuggled from the country, again permitted the exportation, increasing the export duty to 6 per cent. for coined silver, and 12 per cent. for uncoined silver, 2 per cent. for coined gold and 8 per cent. for uncoined gold, and an additional half per cent. on both for the consulate. The mines of Potosi have not been worked to any considerable amount since the revolution. The specie exported is brought chiefly from Chile and amounts to about three millions of dollars annually. The British frigates on this station are relieved every six months, and since the year 1810, have carried to England nearly ten millions of dollars. This money was shipped partly on account of individuals and partly on that of the British government. Their agent in Buenos Ayres, the consul general, bought the specie at a premium, chiefly from the Spanish merchants, who were anxious to remove their funds from America. In 1813, the government published the following commercial regulations, which remained in force for some time. The government being anxious to regulate the duties, and to establish the order of their collection in the custom houses within the territories of the United Provinces, in the manner most convenient to the general interests of commerce, and do away all former abuses, to proportion the imports to the nature, necessity, and value of the articles of commerce, as far as the extraordinary demand, and present situation of the treasury will admit, and to

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furnish the merchants with a clear and exact statement of the duties to be paid, in order that they may in no event be involved in doubts and perplexity, which might intimidate their enterprise, or retard the progress so important to the public prosperity, have decreed with the previous concurrence of the permanent council of the sovereign assembly; First, From the first day of January, 1814, twenty-five per cent. shall be collected on all manufactures, and foreign articles, except those hereafter specified, as the only duty of entry to be calculated on the current market prices, at the time of their extraction from the warehouse. Secondly, For this purpose, the merchants will present the invoices with the prices affixed, which the officers of the customs shall examine, in order to calculate the duties. Thirdly, In case the price fixed by the merchant, be not regulated on the market price, the officer of the customs shall signify it to him; and should any dispute arise, two arbiters shall be named, one by each party, and a third chosen by them, in order to decide thereon. Fourthly, Foreign wines and brandies, oil, ready made clothes, boots and shoes, and furniture, 35 per cent. Fifthly, Muslins and hats, 30 per cent. Sixthly, Crockery and glass, 15 per cent. Seventhly, The following articles are free of all duties: quicksilver, machinery and instruments for mining, and those of the sciences and arts, all implements and tools of trade, books and printing presses, as likewise boards and all sorts of lumber. Saltpetre, gun powder, flints, fire arms, and sabres and swords, for the use of cavalry. Published in the Ministerial Gazette, and signed by Nicholas R. Pena, Juan Larrea, Gervasia Antonio Posadas *(Manuel) Jose Garcia, secretary.* The market of Buenos Ayres continues to be overstocked with English goods, but their merchants are now better acquainted with the wants of the inhabitants, ponchos, rugs, saddles, bits, lassos, balls, and in short every article formerly supplied by their domestic manufactures, are now brought from England. The Guernsey and Jersey traders, bring French and German goods, which are preferred to English. Furniture, cordage, canvass, nava stores, paper, liquors, and strong black tobacco, find a ready sale, and will bear the duties. All goods mentioned in the 7th commercial regulations, are in constant demand. China and India goods sell well, and the British merchants, resident in Buenos Ayres, have lately despatched three ships, direct to India and China, from the river of Plate. The principal resorts are hides, tallow, horses, vecuna wool, skins, feathers, bark, copper, gold and silver. Hides pay 20 per cent. export duty, and all the other articles, except the precious metals, 14 per cent. The commerce of Chile, offers great advantages to the traders to China, and to the East Indies. It is a well known fact, that specie is almost our only medium of trade with those countries, which not only deprives the merchant for many months for the use of a large sum, but obliges him often to collect dollars at a premium; whereas, if the ports of Chile were used as a scala, the goods suited to that market, such as furniture, and French and German manufactures, are obtained

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in the United States at a credit, and the returns received in Chile, in copper and silver. In Chile, the mines of silver are the most productive ever wrought. The mineral of those discovered within the last three years, in the province of Guasco, yielded a most extraordinary product of silver, which, compared with that of Potosi, is as 40 to 14. It is not ascertained, whether these rich mines extended to any great depth.*

Furs might be obtained if there was any encouragement to collect them. Traders might station small detachments along the coast and on the islands, to procure seal skins, an article of great demand in China and very abundant in these seas. All instruments of trade and manufactories are introduced into both countries free from duty. During the last war between Russia and England, a press was erected in Valparaiso for the purpose of packing hemp, and large quantities of that article were sent to England. In the event of the intermediate ports, as they are called (puerto intermedios) Arica, Ariquipa, &c. being opened to a free trade, it is probable that Upper Peru will be supplied through that channel. The distance is not so great, and the roads are better than those to the Atlantic ports. The trade of Chile has hitherto been confined to Lima and Buenos Ayres. The vice royalty of Lima was supplied with grain from the ports of Valparaiso and Talcahuano, and the returns made in sugar, fossil, salt, rice, and cotton. The trade between Buenos Ayres and Chile, was carried on by caravans of carts from Buenos Ayres to Mendoza at the foot of the Andes, and from thence on mules to Santiago. The principal articles sent across the continent by the merchants of Buenos Ayres, were European dry goods, and the herb of Paraguay. They received in return, the sugar of Lima, copper, and gold and silver.

In the hands of freemen, who were sensible of its advantages, and under an enlightened government, Chile, from the number and variety of productions, which yield the raw material of every sort of manufacture, has within itself the means of greatness; and from the number of its harbors, and great extent of coast, might carry on an extensive and lucrative commerce with the intermediate ports, with the vice royalty of Lima, the Philippine islands, the East Indies, and China.

The commercial regulations of these countries have been so frequently altered, that it is difficult to say what they now are. This uncertainty discourages commercial enterprize even more than exorbitant duties.

* In Potosi, a cazon of ore, yields from 14 to 20 marks of silver; and in Guasco, 70 marks have been extracted from a cazon, but the average product is 40 marks.

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(B.)

The Geographical Division of the Vice-royalty of Peru.

The vice royalty of PERU, extends 365 leagues N. and S. from 3° 35′ of S. lat. and 126 leagues E. and W. between 63° 56′, and 70° 18′ from the meridian of Cadiz.

The Bay of TUMBEZ separates it on the N. from the kingdom of Grenada. The River of Loa on the S. from the desart of Atacama, and the Kingdom of Chile. The Cordillera of Vilacota in 14° S. separates it from Buenos Ayres. On the E. it is bounded by an immense desert, and on the W. by the Pacific Ocean. The face of the country is extremely unequal; bordering on the coast it is a barren sandy desert, with a few small but fertile valleys, and in the interior are the lofty mountains and deep vallies of the Cordillera. The temperament varies, therefore, in the same latitude. In the habitable parts of the mountains, the thermometer of Reaumur varies from 3 deg. below 0 deg. to 9 deg. above. At Lima, and generally along the coast, the constant variation of the thermometer is from 13 deg. to 23 1-2 deg. The productions of Peru follow the nature of its different climates. Wine, oil, and sugar, are the most valuable productions of the coast; corn and wheat of the vallies; and bark and cocoa of the mountains.

The annual product of the mines is valued at 4,500,000 dollars.

The population of the vice royalty is calculated at 1,076,997 souls.

It is divided into seven intendancies, comprehending 51 districts; the latter governed by sub-delegates responsible to the intendant, who is under the direction of the Superintendent General, a dignity always invested in the vice roy.

The vice royalty contains five dioceses.

LIMA, the capital of Peru, is situated in 12 deg. 2 min. 51 sec. S. lat. and 76 deg. 50 min. 51 sec. longitude, and was founded by Don Francisco Pizarro, in 1535.

Notwithstanding the frequent earthquakes which destroyed the city in the years 1586, 1630, 1655, 1687, and 1764, Lima occupies an area of ten miles circumference, including the suburb of San Lazaro. The population amounts to 52,627 inhabitants, 292 clergy, 991 religious monks and friars, 572 nuns, 84 beatas, 17,215 Spaniards and white creoles, 3,912 Indians, 8,960 negroes, and the remainder, intermediate classes mixtures of the others.

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The intendancy of Lima comprehends 74 doctrinas, (curacies) 3 cities, 5 towns, and 173 townships—population 149,112 souls, 431 clergy, 1,100 religious, 572 nuns, 84 beatas, 22,370 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 63,180 Indians, 13,747 mestizoes, 17,864 mulattoes, and 29,763 slaves. It is divided into eight districts, in the following order;

CERCADO DE LIMA. This district comprehends 14 curacies, 1 city, 6 townships, and contains a population of 62,910 souls; 309 clergy, 991 religious, 572 nuns, 84 beatas, 18,219 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 9,744 Indians, 4,879 mestizoes, 10,231 free people of colour, and 17,881 slaves. The principal produce is fruit, honey, sugar, and vegetables, which are consumed in the capital to the amount of 500,000 dollars per annum.

CANETE. This district comprehends 7 curacies, one city, one town, and 4 townships. It is inhabited by 12,616 souls; 15 clergy, 19 religious, 465 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 7,025 Indians, 737 mestizoes, 992 free people of colour, 3,363 slaves. Produce, sugar, grain, and some nitre; annual value 350,000 dollars.

The district of ICA comprehends ten curacies, one city, two towns, and three townships. Inhabitants 20,576, 22 clergy, 72 religious, 2,158 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 6,607 Indians, 3,105 mestizoes, 4,305 free people of colour, 4,004 slaves. A copper mine is wrought in this district; which also produces brandy, olives, and some sugar, and manufactures glass and soap—annual value 588,742 dollars 4 rs.

YAUGOS comprehends 7 curacies and 25 townships. It is inhabited by 9,574 souls, 12 clergy, 13 Spaniards and creoles, 8,005 Indians, 93 mestizoes, and 1,451 free people of colour. Produce, cattle and sheep; annual value 20,200 dollars.

HUAROCHIRO comprehends 11 curacies and 35 townships, and is inhabited by 14,024 souls, 25 clergy, 220 Spaniards, and Spanish creoles, 13,084 Indians, 591 mestizoes, 19 free people of colour, and 84 slaves. The produce of this district, is grain and cattle; and it possesses rich silver mines; annual value not ascertained.

CANTA, comprehends 9 doctrinas and 5 townships, and is inhabited by 12,133 souls, 20 clergy, 57 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 10,333 Indians, and 1,723 mestizoes; produce Indian corn, potatoes and cattle; annual value 20,103 dollars.

CHANCAY, comprehends 9 doctrinas, 2 towns, and 25 townships, and is inhabited by 13,945 souls, 18 clergy, 15 religious, 969 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 7,510 Indians, 1,081 mestizoes, 750

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free mulattoes, and 3,604 slaves; produce, grain, sugar and cattle; annual value 465,504 dollars 4 rials.

SANTA, comprehends 7 doctrinas, and 14 townships, and is inhabited by 3,334 souls, 10 clergy, 279 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 873 Indians, 1,237 mestizoes, 108 free mulattoes, and 827 slaves; produces sugar, grain and cattle; annual value 245,000 dollars.

INTENDANCY of CUZCO. The city of Cuzco, capital of the former Incas, is situated 13 degrees 32 minutes 20 seconds, south latitude 65 degrees 15 minutes 20 seconds, longitude. It was founded in the eleventh century by Manco Capac, and taken possession of by Francisco Pizarro in 1534. The population is estimated at 32,082 souls, 89 clergy, 436 religious, 166 nuns, 113 beatas, 16,122 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 14,254 Indians, 203 negroes, and the remainder mestizoes and mulattoes.

The intendancy of Cuzco, comprehends 102 doctrinas, 1 city, 2 towns, 131 townships, inhabited by 216,382 souls, 315 clergy, 474 religious recluses, 166 nuns, 113 beatas, 31,828 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 159,105 Indians, 23,104 mestizoes, 993 free mulattoes, and 283 slaves.

Cercado del Cuzco, comprehends 8 doctrinas, 1 city, inhabited by 32,082 slaves, 89 clergy, 436 religious recluses, 166 nuns, 113 beatas, 16,122 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 14,254 Indians, 646 free mulattoes, 203 slaves, the remainder mestizoes. Produces grain, and manufactures some woollen and cotton stuffs.

ABANCAY. This district comprehends 9 doctrinas and 8 townships, inhabited by 25,259 souls, 33 clergy, 1,937 Spanisard and Spanish creoles, 18,419 Indians, 4,739 mestizoes, 50 free mullattoes, 81 slaves. Produce, sugar, cotton, grain and cocoa; annual value 350,000 dollars.

AYMARAES, comprehends 16 doctrinas and 34 townships, inhabited by 15,281 souls, 24 clergy, 1 recluse, 4,474 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, and 10,782 Indians. Produces various kinds of dyes, raises cattle, and manufactures some woollen stuffs; annual value 145,000 dollars.

CULCA and LARES, comprehends 5 doctrinas and 6 townships, inhabited by 6,199 souls, 13 clergy, 347 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 5,519 Indians, and 320 mestizoes. Produce grain, cotton, red pepper, cocoa, manufactures some woollen stuffs; annual value 176,239 dollars.

URUBAMBA, comprehends 6 doctrinas and 4 townships, and is inhabited by 9,250 souls, 22 clergy, 35 religious, 835 Spaniards and

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creoles, 5,164 Indians, and 3,195 mestizoes. Produce grain, coco, and a variety of fruits; annual value 89,098 dollars.

COLABAMBAS, comprehends 13 doctrinas and 14 townships, and is inhabited by 19,824 souls, 19 clergy, 186 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 18,237 Indians and 1,382 mestizoes. Produce Indian corn, and grain; annual value 20,000 dollars.

PARARO, comprehends 9 doctrinas and 19 townships, inhabited by 20,236 souls, 20 clergy, 1 recluse, 2,331 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 15,034 Indians, 2,733 mestizoes and 117 free mulattoes. Produce grain and cattle, and manufactures linen cloth; annual value 96,471 dollars.

CHUMBIBILCAS, comprehends 11 doctrinas and 12 townships, and is inhabited by 15,973 souls, 27 clergy, 4,471 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, and 11,475 Indians. Produce grain, and manufactures linen cloths; annual value 18,800 dollars.

TINTA, comprehends 11 doctrinas and 18 townships, and is inhabited by 36,968 souls, 27 clergy, 324 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 29,045 Indians, 5,420 mestizoes and 152 free mulattoes. Produce, grain, ships, and manufactures linen cloths; annual value 152,309 1-2 dollars.

QUISPICANCHI, comprehends 10 doctrinas and 16 townships, and is inhabited by 24,337 souls, 25 clergy, 1 recluse, 37 Spaniards and creoles, 19,947 Indians, 4,306 mestizoes, and 21 free mulattoes. Produce, grain, cattle, wool, and salt, and manufactures linen cloths; annual value ——.

PAUCARTAMBO comprehends 4 doctrinas and eight townships, and is inhabited by 12, 973 souls, 16 clergy, 764 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 11,229 Indians, 957 mestizoes, and 7 mulattoes. Produce, wood, and cocoa; annual value 396,972 dollars.

INTENDANCY OF AREQUIPA. The city of Ariquipa is situated 16 degrees 13 minutes 20 seconds south latitude, 66 degrees 6 minutes 30 seconds longitude. Its population is estimated at 23,988 souls, 60 clergy, 225 religious, 162 nuns, 5 beatas, 15,737 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 1,515 Indians, 4,129 mestizoes; the remainder mulattoes and negroes.

The Intendancy of Arequipa comprehends 60 doctrinas, 2 cities and 2 town and 8 townships, inhabited by 136,801 souls, 326 clergy, 284 religious, 126 nuns, 5 beatas, 89,357 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 66,609 Indians, 17,797 mestizoes, 7,003 free mulattoes, 5,258 slaves.

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CEREADO DE AREQUIPA, comprehends 11 doctrinas, 1 city and 2 townships, inhabited by 37,721 souls, 93 clergy, 335 religious recluses, 162 nuns, 5 beatas, 22,687 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 5,929 Indians, 4,908 mestizoes, 2,477 free mulattoes, 1,225 slaves—produce, grain, wine, brandy, sugar, cotton, and oil; annual value 638,800 dollars.

CAMANA, comprehends 7 doctrinas and 8 townships, inhabited by 19,052 souls, 34 clergy, 9 religious recluses, 5, 05 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 1,249 Indians, 1,021 mestizoes, 1,747 free mulattoes, and 887 slaves—produce, wine, sugar, and oil; annual value 300,000 dollars.

CONDESUYOS, comprehends 9 doctrinas, and 18 townships, and is inhabited by 20,145 souls, 35 clergy, 3,603 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 12,011 Indians, 4,358 mestizoes, 34 free mulattoes, and 44 slaves—contains gold mines, and produces cochineal and grain; annual value 26,458 dollars.

COLLAGUAS, comprehends 16 doctrinas and 10 townships, and is inhabited by 13,905 souls; 40 clergy, 212 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 11,872 Indians, 1,417 mestizoes, 335 free mulattoes, and 29 slaves—produce, grain, wool, and manufactures some woollen stuffs; annual value 70.100 dollars. The silver mines in this district yield annually 34,000 marks.

MOQUEQUA, comprehends 6 doctrinas, and 6 townships, and is inhabited by 28,279 souls, 53 clergy, 29 religious recluses, 5,596 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 17,272 Indians, 2,916 mestizoes, 887 free mulattoes, and 1,526 slaves—produce, grain, and wine; annual value 705,000 dollars.

ARICA, comprehends 7 doctrinas, 1 city, 26 townships, inhabited by 18,776 souls, 44 clergy 21 religious recluses, 1,585 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 12,870 Indians, 1,977 mestizoes, 985 free mulattoes, and 1,294 slaves—produce, wine grain, cotton, and oil; annual value 160,500 dollars.

TARAPACA comprehends 4 doctrinas, and 12 townships, inhabited by 7,923 souls, 27 clergy, 509 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 5,406 Indians, 1, 200 mestizoes, 528 free mulattoes, and 253 slaves—produce, wine, and some grain; annual value 81,400 dollars. The silver mines of this district produce annually 72,462 marks.

THE INTENDANCY OF TRUXILLO. The city of Truxillo is situated in 8 degrees 5 minutes south latitude, and 72 degrees 44 longitude, founded by Francis Pizarro, in 1535. Population, 5,790 souls, 133 clergy, 60 religious recluses, 129 nuns,

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1,263 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 274 Indians, 704 mestizoes, 1,000 negroes, and the rest mulattoes.

The INTENDANCY of TRUXILLO, comprehends 87 doctrinas, 5 cities, 2 towns, and 142 townships. Population, 230,967 souls, 460 clergy, 160 religious recluses, 162 nuns, 19,098 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 115,647 Indians, 76,949 mestisoes, 13,757 free mulattoes, and 4,725 slaves.

CERCADO DE TRUXILLO, comprehends 10 doctrinas and 6 townships. Population, 12,032 souls, 144 clergy, 60 religious, 129 nuns, 1,434 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 4,577 Indians, 1,549 mestizoes, 2,337 free mulattoes, 1,582 slaves. Produce, sugar, rice, oil, cotton, and various gums. Annual value, 31,756 dollars.

LAMBAYEQUE, comprehends 20 doctrinas, and 7 townships. Population, 35,192 souls, 62 clergy, 27 religious, 2,299 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 22,333 Indians, 5,448 mestisoes, 3,192 free mulattoes, and 1,831 slaves. Produce, grain, saffron, sugar, tobacco, and cotton. Manufactures, some cotton and woollen stuffs, soap, &c. Annual value, 397,799 dollars.

PUIRA, comprehends 12 doctrinas, and 14 townships. Population, 44,491 souls, 61 clergy, 18 religious, 2,474 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 24,797 Indians, 10,654 mestisoes, 5,208 free mulattoes, and 884 slaves. Produce, grain, cotton, some indigo, abounds with cattle. Annual value, 72,686 dollars.

CAXAMARCA, comprehends 17 doctrinas, and 26 townships. Population, 62,199 souls, 23 clergy, 50 religious, 33 nuns, 7,835 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 29,692 Indians, 22,299 mestizoes, 1,875 free mulattoes, and 328 slaves. Produce, grain and cotton, abounds in cattle, and manufactures cotton and woollen stuffs. Annual value

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CHOTA. Not able to ascertain any correct information respecting this district. Possesses rich mines.

HUAMACHUCO, comprehends 8 doctrinas, and 23 townships. Population, 38,150 souls, 64 clergy, 2,273 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 17,117 Indians, 18,367 mestizoes, 250 free mulattoes, and 79 slaves. Produce, grain and coca, and manufactures linen cloths. Annual value, 57,853 dollars.

PATAZ, comprehends 3 doctrinas, and 13 townships. Population, 13,508 souls, 11 clergy, 3 religious, 987 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 4,627 Indians, 7,678 mestizoes, 194 free mulatroes, and 8 slaves. Produce, grain, sugar, and abounds in cattle. Annual value, 65,264

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dollars. The gold mines of this district yield 250 pounds per annum, and the silver 500 marks. Value of both, 35,500 dollars.

CHACHAPOYAS, comprehends 17 doctrinas, and 60 townships. Population, 25,398 souls, 34 clergy, 11 religious, 1,396 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 12,504 Indians, 10,954 mestizoes, 486 free mulattoes, and 13 slaves. Produce, tobacco, bark, sugar, and cocoa.

INTENDANCY OF HUAMANGA. The city of Huamanga, is situated in 13 degrees 1 minute south latitude, and 68 degrees 6 minutes longitude. Population, 25,970 souls, 25 clergy, 42 religious, 82 nuns, 169 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 20,373 Indians, 4,382 mestizoes, and the remainder mulattoes and negroes.

The INTENDANCY of HUMANGA, comprehends 50 doctrinas, 1 city, and 134 townships, and is inhabited by 111,559 souls, 176 clergy, 45 religious, 82 nuns, 5,378 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 75,284 Indians, 29,621 mestizoes, 943 free mulattoes, and 30 slaves.

CERCADO DE HUAMANGA, comprehends 3 doctrinas, and 2 townships, and is inhabited by 25,970 souls, 25 clergy, 42 religious, 82 nuns, 169 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 20,373 Indians, 4,372 mestizoes, 30 slaves; the rest free mulattoes. Possesses some manufactures. Annual value 34,268 dollars.

ANCO, comprehends 1 doctrina, and 4 townships. Inhabited by 2,022 souls, 9 Spaniards, 1,744 Indians, 269 mestizoes. Produce, sugar and coffee. Annual value 18,795 dollars.

HUANTA, comprehends 7 doctrinas, and 20 townships, and is inhabited by 27,337 souls, 45 clergy, 3 religious, 219 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 19,981 Indians, 10,080 mestizoes, and 9 free mulattoes.

CONGALLO, comprehends 10 doctrinas, and 31 townships, and is inhabited by 12,474 souls, 31 clergy, 62 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 10,011 Indians, 2,363 mestizoes, 7 free mulattoes. Produce, grain and cattle.

ANDAHUAYLAS. This district comprehends 10 doctrinas, and 18 townships, and is inhabited by 12,020 souls, 20 clergy, 3,000 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 5,000 Indians, 4,000 mestizoes. Produce grain and sugar. Annual value 74,384 dollars.

LUCANAS comprehends 14 doctrinas and 44 townships, and is inhabited by 15,727 souls, 27 clergy, 862 Spaniards and Spanish

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creoles, 12,700 Indians, 2,076 mestizoes, and 60 free mulattoes. Produce, grain and cattle.

PARINACOCHAS, comprehends 14 doctrinas, and 46 townships, population 16.011 souls, 28 clergy, 1,057 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 8,475 Indians, and 6,451 mestizoes. Raises cattle and manufactures cotton stuffs. Annual value 56,000 dollars.

INTENDANCY OF HUANCAVELICA. The town of Huancavelica is situated in 12 degrees 53 minutes south latitude, and 68 degrees 46 minutes longitude. Population 5,156 souls, 21 clergy, 18 religious, 560 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 3,803 Indians, 731 mestizoes, and the remainder mulattoes and negroes.

The intendancy of Huancavelica comprehends 22 doctrinas, one city, one town, and 86 townships, and is inhabited by 30,917 souls, 81 clergy, 18 religious, 2,341 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 23, 899 Indians, 4,537 mestizoes, and 41 slaves.

CERCADO DE HUANCAVELICA. This district comprehends 4 doctrinas and 6 townships. Inhabited by 5,146 souls, 21 clergy, 18 religious, 560 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 3,803 Indians, 731 mestizoes, and 13 slaves.

ANGARAES. This district comprehends 5 doctrinas and 25 townships. Inhabited by 3,245 souls, 23 clergy, 219 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 2,691 Indians, 309 mestizoes, and 3 slaves. Produces sugar, grain, and cattle. Annual value 85,000 dollars.

TAYACAXA comprehends 5 doctrinas and 22 townships. Inhabited by 13,161 souls, 21 clergy, 1,394 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 9,020 Indians, and 2,726 mestizoes.

CASTROVERREYNA comprehends 8 doctrinas and 35 townships. Inhabited by 9,365 souls, 16 clergy, 168 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 8,385 Indians, 771 mestizoes and 25 slaves. Produces grain and cattle. Annual value 76,000 dollars.

INTENDANCY OF TARMA. The town of Tarma is situated in 12 degrees 33 minutes 49 seconds, south latitude, and 69 degrees 29 minutes longitude. Population 5,538 souls, 2 clergy, 361 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 1,878 Indians, 3,244 mestizoes, the rest mulattoes and slaves.

The intendancy of Tarma, comprehends 79 doctrinas, one city, 2 towns and 203 townships. Inhabited by 201,259 souls, 229 clergy, 127 religious, 15 beatas, 15,939 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 105,187 Indians, 78,682 mestizoes, 844 free mulattoes, and 236 slaves.

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CERCADO DE TARMA, comprehends 13 doctrinas, one town and 45 townships; and is inhabited by 34,491 souls, 32 clergy, 1,681 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 18,821 Indians, 14,300 mestizoes and 77 free mulattoes. Produces grain and bark. Annual value 8,315 dollars. The mine of Yauricocha yielded in 1793, 2,016,703 dollars. Rent of the crown for Diezmos and Cobos 231,283 dollars.

XAUJA, comprehends 14 doctrinas, one town, and 16 townships. Inhabited by 52,286 souls, 32 clergy 34 religious, 1,713 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 28,477 Indians, 21,922, mestizoes, and 58 slaves.

CAXATAMBO, comprehends 13 doctrinas and 56 townships, and is inhabited by 16,872 souls, 31 clergy, 504 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 10,500 Indians, 4,808 mestizoes, 629 free mulattoes. Produces grain and cattle. Annual value 30,000 dollars.

CONCHUCOS, comprehends 15 doctrinas, and 19 townships, and is inhabited by 25,308 souls, 40 clergy, 2 religious, 1,384 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 9,899 Indians, and 13,983 mestizoes. Produces grain and possesses mines, but which are not very productive. Annual value 73,476 dollars.

HUAMALIES comprehends 8 doctrinas, and 30 townships. Inhabited by 14,234 souls, 18 clergy, 593 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 8,957 Indians, 4,625 mestizoes, and 43 slaves. Produces bark, cocoa, and cattle. Annual value 53,420 dollars.

HUAYLAS comprehends 12 doctrines and 20 townships, inhabited by 40,822 souls, 67 clergy, 11 religious, 3,604 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 20,935 Indians, 15,971 mestisoes, 138 free mulattoes, and 96 slaves.

HUANUCO, comprehends 4 doctrines, 1 city, and 7 townships, inhabited by 16,826 souls, 9 clergy, 30 religious, 15 beatas, 6,169 Spaniards and Spanish creoles, 7,598 Indians, 3,075 mestizoes, and 39 slaves; produces bark, coca, and exports a small quantity of silver. Annual value 45,094 dollars.

PANATAHUAS.

Military government of Callao and of the Archipelago of Chiloe.

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Number of Indians for the collection of tributes levied on males from 10 to 50 years of age.

Males,	314,863
Females,	304,327
	619,190
Exempt from age, sex, and rank,	473,615
Contributing,	145,575
Amount of tributes,	885,586
Of the common hospital fund,	25,852 7
	911,438 7
Pensions, expenses, &c.	374,052 4
Neat rent,	537,386 3

Duties.

Imposts into Callao, 6 per cent. alcabala, and 3 per cent. customs, woollens, exports 3 per cent.

The interior commerce pays 6 per alcabala.

Alcabala were first levied in Peru, in the year 1596, at 2_{100} until the year 1771, when they were increased to 4_{100}. In the year 1777, they were increased to 6_{100}. The expenses of collecting the customs at Lima, exceeds 50,000 dollars.

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THE KINGDOM OF CHILE is comprised within the narrow strip of land which extends east and west from the summit of the Cordilleras de los Andes to the Pacific Ocean, and stretches along the coast north and south, from the river Salado and the desert of Atacama, to the Straits of Magellan. From the chain of frontier posts (which begin at Aranco, on the coast, and extend to the Cordilleras,) to the town of Valdivia, the country is in possession of the warlike tribe of Arancanians, who still remain independent; and from Osorno, south, is inhabited by the various tribes of Patagonia, whose territories have not been explored.

The population of Chile, by the census taken in 1791, was found to be 750,000 souls. From the strong motives of concealment, as the census is taken for the purpose of proportioning the taxes according to the population of each district, the population of Chile cannot be estimated at less than one million.

The distance from the Cordilleras to the Pacific Ocean, is thirty leagues, between the latitudes of 25 degrees and 36 degrees south; and 40 leagues, between 36 degrees and 43 degrees south.

The country comprised between the 25th and 43d degrees of south latitude, may be considered the length of the kingdom of Chile, it being unsettled and even unexplored further south.

From the Cordilleras de los Andes to the Pacific, the inclination is so great, that all the rivers flow with the rapidity of torrents, and are therefore not navigable. They serve to irrigate the valleys, and render them the most fertile in the world. The climate makes this method of cultivation absolutely necessary; for from the Salado to the Itata, that is, from 25 degrees to 36 degrees of south latitude, not a cloud is to be seen above the horizon, from the month of November to the month of May. The atmosphere, during this period, is perfectly clear, and the dews are scarcely perceptible, nor is the heat oppressive. The proximity of the Andes tempers the air, and the mercury fluctuates between 70 degrees and 80 degrees of Fahrenheit; and rarely rises to 85 degrees. Thunder storms, so frequent on the east of the Andes, are unknown in this part of Chile. Winter commences in the month of May; the cold is mild, and the rains gentle and unattended with wind. The rains of the winter fertilize the hills, and the plains, which cannot be irrigated, during that season, afford pasture for the cattle. The spring commences in September; and the face of nature in Chile, is then peculiarly beautiful. The hills are verdant, and covered with innumerable flowering shrubs; and the plains present to the eye a carpet of flowers. The abundance of water and peculiarity of climate enable the inhabitants to raise all the fruits of the earth in great perfection. The wheat, which is cultivated in the valleys, is of excellent quality; and the produce seldom less than forty times the seed; sometimes ninety; and, on the best land, even one hundred. Indian corn is likewise cultivated, and produces abundantly. Barley is raised in great quantity for the use of horses and mules, which, in the winter, are fed on this grain, mixed

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with chopped straw, as in Arabia and old Spain. Hemp and flax grow luxuriantly. Cotton is here and there cultivated for their domestic manufactures; and there is one sugar plantation. The climate and soil is well adapted to the culture of sugar; but they have been long accustomed to get that article from Lima, in exchange for their wheat, and are not disposed to change their antient habits. Rice, likewise, would grow on their low lands; but it is brought from Lima.

South of the river Itata, the climate varies. Rains are frequent in the summer; and, in the winter, are attended by storms of wind. The grape is chiefly cultivated in these districts; and the wine is better than where the vineyards are irrigated.

The olive grows luxuriantly throughout all Chile; and the oil is of the first quality.

On the banks of the river Maule, and on all the rivers south of 35 degrees 17 minutes, there is excellent timber, and the whole country abounds with forests of a thorny minosa, which makes good charcoal, and is in general use for fuel.

In the neighborhood of Talcahuano, within 500 yards of the sea, there is a fine vein of sea-coal, which has been used by our whaling ships.

The kingdom of Chile was governed by a president and captain-general, who was amenable only to the council of the Indies, and was assisted by an audiencia, or supreme court. His powers were the same as the vice roys of Lima, or Buenos Ayres.

There were two bishopricks in Chile. That of Santiago comprehended the territory from the river Salado to the Maule; and the bishoprick of Concepcion, included the country from the Maule to the island of Chiloe. The presidency was divided into districts (partidos) governed by a sub-delegate. Copiapo, the most northern was the first conquered by the Peruvians, under the Incas, who extended themselves subsequently to the banks of the Maule.

The Spaniards followed the track marked out by the enterprize of this extraordinary people; and passing along the edge of the Cordelleras, descended into Chile by the mountains of Copiapo. This district extends from the Cordilleras to the sea. On the south it is separated from the vice royalty of Lima by the desert and district of Atacama, and extends north seventy leagues to the district of Guasco. The town of Copiapo is situated in 26 degrees 50 minutes south latitude, twenty leagues from the coast. It is small and inconsiderable; for the only part of this district capable of cultivation is the narrow valley which extends from the Cordilleras to the town, the river losing itself in the sands between the town and the ocean. South from the Hospederia de Yerba Buma, extends a desert tract (travirsia) about thirty leagues to the borders of Guasco.

LA CALDERA COPIAPO, the port, is situated in 26 degrees 1 minute south latitude.

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The wine of Copiapo is much esteemed, and is of excellent flavour, but has not body to keep any length of time.

The district of GUASCO, extends from the Cordilleras to the sea, and from that of Copiapo to the district of Coquimbo, occupying a line of coast of thirty leagues extent. The principal town is small, and situated about 16 leagues from the sea.

The mines of gold in this district have been abandoned; but those of copper produce annually 18 to 20,000 quintals. The king exercised the right of purchasing copper at seven and a half dollars per quintal, payable in Santiago. In consequence of this monopoly, the miners preferred disposing of it to the smugglers, who gave them fourteen dollars in goods. The mines of silver discovered in this district, in 1811, are the richest ever known; the veins which have been hitherto wrought, are near the surface of the earth, and have yielded the extraordinary product of forty marcs, and sometimes even seventy marcs to the caxon of ore.*

The Port of GUARCO is formed by two rocks, running out from the island of Carnero, and point Expedition. It is situated in 28 degrees 26 minutes south latitude, and 75 degrees longitude west of Cadiz.

The district of COQUIMBO, extends from the Cordilleras to the sea, it bounds north on Guasco, and extends 50 leagues south to the district of Cuscas. The capital, La Serana, commonly called Coquimbo, is situated in 29 degrees 54 minutes south latitude, on the south bank of the river Coquimbo, within half a league of the coast. The land slopes gradually from the town to the sea, and being meadow, forms a lawn of never failing verdure. The town is regular and well built, and is surrounded with gardens, which produce all the tropical fruits in great perfection. The inhabitants are remarked for their urbanity and hospitality to strangers; and the climate is equal and temperate.

The river Coquimbo waters the valley of Hualque, the most fertile part of the district; and the Liman, which is a large stream, waters the country above and below the juntas of Guamalata.

The gold mine of Talca which is situated in this district, is very productive. The copper of Coquimbo is esteemed the best in the world, and contains a small portion of gold. The French formerly

* The method of estimating the product in Potosi, Chile, and generally in Peru, is by the caxon of ore, which contains fifty quintals, of one hundred pounds each. The marc of silver is eight ounces of eight ochavas; each ochava of seventy-five grains. The caxon of ore at Guasco produces forty marcs, or three hundred and twenty ounces of silver. In Potosi fourteen marcs is the average or one hundred and twelve ounces; and in Guanaxuato the richest mines of Mexico, the average is four ounces the quintal, or two hundred ounces the caxon.

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imported this copper through Spain, and extracted the gold from it. Mining is carried on by voluntary labour. The mita or conscription of the unfortunate Indians, to toil in the mines was never practised in Chile.

The port of COQUIMBO is formed by the head lands of Tres Montes and Pelicanos; and is one of the best known, and the most secure of the Pacific. It is situated in 29 degrees 54 minutes south latitude.

The district of CUSCOS, extends from the Cordilleras to the sea, and from Coquimbo south to the district of Petorca. Rozas is the principal town.

The river Chaupo fertilizes this district. Near where it falls into the sea is a large lake, abounding with fish.

The district of PETORCA extends from the Cordilleras to the sea, and from Cuscos, its northern boundary, south to Quillota. The capital is Petorca, sometimes called Santa Ana de Bribiesta. This district possesses gold and copper mines, and is watered by the rivers Longotama and Ligua. On the banks of the latter, stands the town of San Domingo de Rozas; and near it, the settlement of Placilla. There is a large Indian town in the valley, called Valle Hermoso.

The port of VALPARAISO is situated in 33 deg. 1 min. 45 sec. south lat. It is the most frequented in Chile, although open to the north and northeast, and to northwest winds, which blow with great violence in the winter, accompanied with a heavy sea.

The town extends around the bay, from the castle of Saint Antonio, for nearly a mile, and is separated from the Almendral (a suburb of Valparaiso) by a low beach. The houses are irregularly scattered over the sides of steep hills, which rise abruptly from the shore, and extend along the ravines of Saint Augustin, Saint Francisco and Gomez; the ground being very broken and rugged. The country near the town is very barren, and all the supplies are drawn from Quillota. That abundant district furnishes, at a very cheap rate, supplies for the vessels that frequent Valparaiso. Stock of every description, fruit, potatoes, vegetables, and excellent biscuit, may be bought at a very moderate price. The best water is brought from the Almendral, at some trouble and expense.

Until the late revolution, the only commerce from this port was with Lima; between forty and sixty cargoes were brought annually, consisting of fossil salt, sugar, rice, cotton, and a coarse cotton manufacture, called toculle; and the returns made in wheat, hemp, beef and tallow, hides, &c. &c.

The population of Valparaiso, including the Almendral, does not exceed 6,500 souls.

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The district of QUILLOTA is bounded north by Petorca, south by the district of Melipilla, east by that of Aconcagua, and west by the Pacific ocean. The principal town, San Martin de la Concha, commonly known by the name of Quillota, is situated on the south bank of the river Quillota, near the river of Aconcagua. The streets diverge from the principal square, and intersect each other at right angles; and the houses are commodious and well built. The town occupies a great space, each house having a garden adjoining, where the inhabitants raise vegetables and fruit for the supply of Valparaiso.

From the summit of an adjoining hill, the eye embraces a highly rich and variegated prospect of the town, interspersed with groves and gardens, and surrounded by extensive artificial pastures, principally of lucerne; and of the fields intersected by canals from the river, and cultivated in wheat, corn, hemp, and flax. The cultivation in every part of Chile, as has been before observed, is conducted by irrigation; and the Aconcagua here affords a plentiful supply of water. The climate is mild and healthy, and the inhabitants lively and hospitable. There are mines of gold and copper in this district, although not wrought; and they make oil and wine. Petorca and Cuscus are included with Quillota, for all the purposes of government.

The port of HERRADURA DE QUINTERO, in 32 deg. 47 min. 33 sec. south lat. and a little north of Valparaiso, is one of the best and safest harbors in these seas; being very extensive, with deep water and clean anchorage. At the Punta de las Ventanas, is a good watering place, with abundance of wood; and the country is beautiful and fertile.

The road direct to the capital, is so rugged and mountainous, that this advantageous port has been neglected.

Any wind that permits you to approach the coast, will carry you in; and at the anchorage, you have only to avoid the shoal of Tortuga.

The district of MELIPILLA is bounded north by that of Quillota, south by the river of Maipo, east by the district of Mapocho, and extends west to the Pacific ocean.

The chief town, San Jose, commonly called Melipilla, is beautifully situated near the north bank of the broad and rapid river of Maipo, which furnishes the means of irrigating an extensive and well cultivated country. The road to Valparaiso formerly passed through this town. The whole district is well settled, and highly cultivated in wheat, barley, Indian corn, and vines. It is watered by the rivers Maipo and Mapocho; on the latter is situated the small but flourishing town of Saint Francisco del Monte, the environs of which, for a considerable distance, are a vast garden, interspersed with orchards and vineyards. The convent of Saint Francisco is endowed with extensive possessions. A little below the town the Mopocho falls into the Maipo; and near the outlet of the latter is the bay of Saint

Antonio, in 38 deg. 30 min. south lat. It is open to the north, and very insecure.

The district of Mapocho, occupies an extensive plain at the foot of the Andes, being bounded on the north by Santa Rosa, south by the river Maypo, east by the Cordilleras, and west by Melipilla.

The city of Santiago de Chile, is situated in this district, and was founded on the 12th of February, 1541, by Don Pedro de Valdivia on the south bank of the Mapocho, in 33 degrees, 31 minutes, south latitude. He at first called the country, overrun by his arms, after his native province, Estramadura, and the capital Santiago de Estramadura; but it soon lost this title in the original name of Chile. Santiago contains 40,000 inhabitants; it was founded on the lands belonging to the Ulmen, or Cacique Guelingala, whose jurisdiction extended from the river Chuapa, on the north to the river Maule, on the south and east and west, from the Cordilleras to the sea. The plain on which the city is situated, extend along the foot of the Andes, certainly to the line, and I belive quite to the isthmus of Panama north; and south to the straits of Magellan. This is the only uniform level in Chile; from hence to the coast, the decent is very rapid, and broken by irregular mountains and valleys. On the eastern extremity of the city, rises the small rocky hill of Santa Lucia, formerly called the mountain of Guelen. These insulated hills are frequently seen on the great plain of Chile.

Santiago is divided into four quartels. The ministers of the royal audience were chiefs of quartels, and an alcalde or magistrate in each, attended to the police, and reported to the chief.

The cabildo or municipal council, is composed of a royal standard bearer, (who carries the standard of Santiago, on the festival of that saint:) an alguasil, alcalde of the province, two regidores and fiel executors, which are permanent offices, and are sold to the highest bidder, and so fond are the people of distinction, that they are purchased at a high price. These choose two ordinary alcaldes, or magistrates of the province, who have jurisdiction in ordinary cases, and whose duty it is to keep the peace.

The tribunal of commerce is composed of a prior, two consulages, an assessor or syndic, and nine counsellors. These are chosen every two years, and have jurisdiction in all commercial causes. They have a fund arising from internal taxes, and from fines and costs charged nominally with every thing relating to commerce, and to the superintendance of roads and harbors.

A broad road extends round the south side of the town, like the Boulevards in Paris, and separates it from the suburs, which are extensive and well built. There are several handsome churches and convents in this Canada or Boulevard, and a large canal carries a stream of water along the south side of it. North from the principal square, a wide street leads to the bridge over the Mapocho, which is built of stone and brick, and stands on nine lofty arches. The view from it along the banks of the Mapocho, and towards the Andes is

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very picturesque; and the inhabitants resort to this bridge, in the summer afternoons to enjoy the refreshing air from the mountains. The river is broad and shallow, and in the summer flows in several channels, but in the spring of the year, when swollen by the melting of the snows, it rises to the height of the arches; and has at times overflowed, and laid half the city under water. A dyke has been built along the banks of the river, to protect the city from these inundations. It is a solid wall about five feet thick, with a parapet.

For the ecclesiastical government of the city, the town is divided into four curacies, viz: the Cathedral, Santa Ana, San Isidro, and San Lazaro. The jurisdiction belongs exclusively to the bishop, who is assisted by an ecclesiastical cabildo, composed of the canons, and presided by the proviso, who is the chief of the ecclesiastical court, and the director of the convent of nuns. There are seven nunneries, an seven convents of monks in Santiago.

The monks of San Juan de Dios, have two large hospitals, one for men with the church of San Juan de Dios attached to it in the suburbs of the Canada, and one for women, annexed to the chapel of San Borjal. These orders have all vast estates, both in lands which they farm themselves, and which are always well cultivated, and in mortgages, which they hold to a great amount.

The district of Santa Rosa is separated from Aconcagua on the north by the river of Aconcagua, on the south it borders on the district of Mapocho, east on the Cordilleras, and west on Quillota. Its capital, Santa Rosa de los Andes, is situated on the road from Santiago to Mendoza.

The district of Rancagua is bounded north by the Maipo, which seperates it from that Mapocho, south by the Cachapoal, which divides it from Colchagua, and it extends east and west from the Cordilleras to the sea. The capital of this district, Santa Cruz de Triana, commonly called Rancagua, is in 34 degrees south latitude, 26 leagues south of Santiago. It stands near the north bank of the Cachapoal, which, after its confluence with the Tinguirrica takes the name of Rapel. This is a very fertile district, exporting grain and cattle, and fruits. There are several gold mines which have been abandoned, but the silver mine of Copana is still very productive.

The district of Colchagua extends east and west from the Cordilleras to the sea, and from the river Cachapoal on the north to the districts of Curico, and Maule on the south. Colchagua is very fertile and well cultivated; the principal export is wheat; some gold and copper have been found in this district. The warm mineral springs of Cauquines are situated in the mountains of Colchagua, and are much frequented by the inhabitants of Santiago during the summer.

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San Fernando, the capital is situated on the north bank of the Tinguiririca.

The district of Curico extends from the Cordilleras to the sea. It borders north on the district of Colchagua, and south on that of Maule. The Villa de San Jose de Buena Vista, more commonly known by the name of the district, is the capital.

The district of Maule extends from the Cordilleras to the sea. It borders north on Curico, and on the south is separated from the Isla de Maule, and from Canquines, by the broad and rapid river Maule. The banks of this river are covered with timber, and there is a ship yard at Bilboa, near its mouth. The entrance of the river is obstructed by a bar. Talca is the principal town of this district. There are still some lavaderos for gold in Maule; the mountain of Chibats near Talca, has been very productive.

The district of the Isla de Maule extends from the Cordilleras to the district of Canquenes. It is bounded on the north by the river Maule, and south by the district of Chillan. The town of Linares is situated in this district, between the rivers Gutagan and Longavi, and the town of Parral is on the south of Longavi.

The district of Canquenes extends from the Isla de Maule, its eastern boundary to the Pacific ocean. It borders north on the river Maule, and south on the district of Itata. The chief town, La Merced de Manso, commonly called Canquenes, is situated on the stream of Tutubin. The town of Bilboa, at the mouth of the Maule, is in this district.

The district of Chillan extends faom the Cordilleras, to the district of Itata, and bounds north on the Isla de Maule. The town of San Carlos is situated between the Longavi and the Nuble, and Chillan the capital, between the Nuble and the Chillan in 35 degrees 56 minutes south latitude, and 71 degrees 5 minutes west longitude. This town is well built, and is ornamented by several churches and convents. The monks of Chillan own almost all the lands in this district, which is very fertile and productive. There is a manufacture of woollen cloths at Chillan.

The district of Itata borders east on that of Chillan, west on the sea, and north on the district of Canquines. The fine river of Itata flows through this district. The chief town of Itata is Coelemu. Quirlque is likewise situated in this district, which is famous for the excellence of its wine.

The district of Rere extends from the Cordilleras to the district of Puchacay. It borders north on Itata, and south on the ri-

litary frontier posts. The chief town is San Luis Gonzaga, formerly known by the names of Buma Experanga, and Extancia del Rey.

The district of the Isla de La Laxa, is comprised in the strip of land, between the rivers La Laxa and Bio-bio, and is surrounded by the Cordilleras of the Andes: it is very fertile and productive. Los Angeles is the chief town, and has a citadel, being one of the frontier posts. There are three passes in the Cordilleras from this district, Antuco, Villacura, and Cuinco, which are fortified against the Indians.

The district of Puchacay, borders east on that of Rere, west on Concepcion, south of the river Bio-bio, and north on the Itata. The chief towns in this district, are Hualqui and Florida. The country is rugged and mountainous, but produces good wheat and wine.

Concepcion de Chile. This district borders east and north, on that of Puchacay, on the south it is bounded by the river Bio-bio, and extends on the west to the Pacific. The city of Concepcion was founded by Don Perdro de Valdivia, in the year 1550, and was built in the valley of Penco; it was repeatedly destroyed by the Araucanians, and rebuilt by the Spaniards on the same spot. After the earthquake, in November, 1774, which laid the city in ruins; the present city of Concepcion was built, about three leagues south of the former position, on the Mocha. This town is the see of a bishop, whose jurisdiction extended from the river Maule, to the southern extremity of Chile. There is a small town erected on the ruins of the former capital, called Penco.

Talcalhuano, in the bay of Concepcion, is situated in 36 degrees 41 minutes 50 seconds; and in 66 degrees 53 minutes 30 seconds, west longitude from Cadiz. This is the largest and most secure port on the coast of Chile; it is protected on the north by the island of Quiriquina. The channel between the north point of Quiriquina, and the point of Loberia, is the best entrance to this bay, and is called Boca Grande; the other channel, or Baca Chica, has sufficient depth of water; but a shoal, which runs out in a westwardly direction from the island, renders its approach more dangerous. The best anchorage, is at the south western extremity of the bay, opposite the town of Talcahuano. There is good anchorage under the south side of the Island of Quiriquina. There is a chain of military posts, extending from the Pacific to the Cordilleras. The first is Aranco, on the sea coast, where there is a small bay, a few leagues south of Talcahuano; San Pedro, on the south side of Bio-bio, opposite the town of Concepcion.

Talcamavida, a small fort; Yumbel, a fortress, with a small well built town; Mesavida, a fort; San Carlos, a town defended by a fort.

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Santa Barbara, a fortress, situated in the passage of the Cordilleras, by which the Indians called Pehuenches, pass into Chile, to traffic with the Spaniards. The river Bio-bio was settled as the boundary of the Arancannians, at the peace of Negrete. This river falls into the sea, in 36 degrees 50 minutes, south latitude.

The territory occupied by the warlike tribes of Arancania, is divided into four provinces, which they call Meli Guatalmapu; it extends from 36 degrees 50 minutes south latitude; to the river Totton, in 39 degrees south latitude, and from the Cordillera de los Andes, to the Pacific ocean. These provinces are divided by lines, running north and south. The first, Languen Mapu, or the district of Sea, is Araaucanía proper, and is inhabited only by that warlike nation. The Spanish fortress of Aranco, San Pedro, Colcura, Tucapel, formerly stood in this district: they were all abanded at the conclusion of peace, except San Pedro. The bay of Aranco is a tolerable roadstead, and the port of Caruero, and the mouth of the river Canton, afford shelter to the shipping on the coast. A chain of mountains separates the district of Languen Mapu, from that of Lelbun Mapu; which occupies an extensive plain, extending from the base of the mountains, in a westwardly direction to Yuapire Mapu. The only town, or rather fortress, which the Spaniards now possess in this district, is Santa Juana. They were driven from the ports of Millapoa, Santa Cruz de Coza; and evacuated the fortress of Purin, which was situated 15 leagues from the sea, and 40 leagues south of the Bio-bio. They were forced to abandon the city of Imperial, which they had built on the banks of the river Canten, about 12 leagues from the sea.

The district of Yuapire Mapu, extends along the plain, at the foot of the Andes. Nacimiento, Mallien, Corve, Chacayco, Quechireguas, and Guangua, were situated in this district. The Spaniards now occupy only the fortress Nacimiento, on the south side of the Bio-bio, between the rivers Bergara and Tubunlen. The missionary settlements on the river Mallao, and those on the Tolpague and Maguehue have been abandoned.

The district of Pive Outalmapu is situate in the Cordilleras de los Andes, and is inhabited by the Pehuenches, whose territory extends from the fortress of Santa Barbara, and occupies the vallies of the Cordilleras. This Outalmapu formerly extended from the river Maule, and the Pehuenches occupied the passes of the Maule Longari. A few still remain about the sources of the rivers Retamel, Renegado, and Alico. They now chiefly reside in the valleys of Antuco, Vellacura, Cuinco, and about the sources of the river Bottes.

The Huilli Mapu is the district of country south of the river Totten from the Andes to the sea. It includes the eastern valleys of the Cordelleras. The Hullliches divide this extensive Outalmapu into four districts. The first is Totten, and extends from the south bank

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of that river to the river Valdivia, and from the eastern side of the Andes to the sea. The second district stretches along the coast from the river Valdivia to the Archipelago of Chiloe. The inhabitants are called the tribe of Cuncos. The third district occupies the plains from the Cordilleras to the province of the Cuncos, and extends north and south from the river Valdivia to the river Sin Fondo in 44 degrees south latitude. The inhabitants of this district are called Outa Huilliches. The last divison extends south from the river Sin Fondo, as far as is known of the northern continent; and is inhabited by Huayguenes. The Spanish anthorities represent this country as thinly inhabited, by a wandering, wretched, and barbarous people.

The town of Villarica on the Totten, has been abandoned by the Spaniards; and the fort of San Jose of Mariguina was destroyed by the Indians.

The fort of Cuseo on the river of the same name, is still occupied by the Spaniards.

There are three missionary settlements, one at Tetuco, called San Francisco del Solano, one at Nubla, and one called San Antonio de Guanahue, on the south bank of the river Valdivia, or as it is called by the Spaniards, the river Valdivia. There is a missionary settlement in the province of the Cuncos, and another twenty leagues to the east of the city of Valdivia, called Nuestra Senora de Pilar.

There are several lakes in these districts at the foot of the Andes. The river Valdivia takes its rise from the lake of Guanegue; Rio bueno from the lake of Ranco; at the head of the lake which gives rise to the river Chico, there are warm sulphureous springs. Expiditions have been sent from Valdivia to explore the lakes of Puyegue, and Llayguihue, and to discover the remaining inhabitants of Vellarica and Osorno, who are reported to have taken refuge near these lakes, after the destruction of their towns. These expiditions failed in their object. The last party ascended the volcano of Ribahanco, but have no particular account of that mountain.

Mehuin, is a roadstead situated in 39 degreees 26 minutes south latitude, and 67 degrees 5 minutes 30 seconds, longitude, west of Cadiz. It is only frequented by small vessels, or by ships driven to leeward of Valdivia by the south wind. It is formed by the island of Sala and the point of Semborados.

The island of La Mocha, is separated from the continent by a channel six leagues wide. The center of the island is in 38 degrees 22 minutes 25 seconds, south latitude, and 67 degrees, 45 minutes 30 seconds, longitude, west of Cadiz.

There are two anchorages on the coast of La Mocha, one near

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the south east point, called the Anogadira in six or seven fathoms: here there is a good landing; the other is near English Creek in thirteen fathoms. This island affords an abundant supply of wood and water, and is well stocked with goats and horses.

The island of Santa Maria is separated from the continent by a channel 4391 toises wide. The center of the island lies in 37 degrees 3 minutes 41 seconds, south latitude, and 67 degrees 22 minutes, longitude, west of Cadiz. There is a harbour on the north side of the island and one on the south. The latter is the most secure, and possesses the advantage of a safe landing at the Punta de Agguada, where supplies may be obtained of water, wood, apples, quinces, celery and sorrel.

The Archipelago of Chiloe, with some inconsiderable settlements on the opposite shore, constitute the province of Chiloe, which is attached to the vice royalty of Lima. The Chilotes, as the inhabitants of this province are called, are of diminutive stature; and as far as my observations extended, the cold bleak climate of the southern hemisphere has the same effect on the growth of animals and plants, as that of the north. The inhabitants subsist principally by fishing; they navigate these stormy seas in piraguas, boats of ten and fifteen tons, made of plank, bound together with twisted fibres, and the seams pitched over. The Robal abounds in the bays and harbours. It is salted and sent to Lima. They manufacture excellent camblets, coarse woollen stuffs and ponchos, which they dye with a great variety of colours. Their principal trade is in boards and lumber, which they send to Lima, and receive fossil, salt, brandy, herb of Parayguay, sugar, and dry goods.

The city of Valdivia, is situated on the south bank of the river Valdivia, about five leagues from the sea. It was founded by Don Pedro de Valdivia, in 1552, and was destroyed by the Arancanians, in 1599. In the year 1639, the Dutch landed at this place, and attempted to rebuild the town; but the decided hostility of the natives, forced them to abandon their purpose. The ensuing year, a Spanish squadron which had been fitted out to expel the Dutch, entered the bay of Valdivia. The town was rebuilt and fortified. It is now a frontier fortress, and is the presido for criminals, who are transported here from Peru and Chile. It was attached to the presidency of Chile, from whence it received an annual supply of money, clothing, and provisions. An annual ship, supplied the inhabitants with sugar, the herb of Paraguay, brandy, and dry goods, and carried off boards and lumber. The settlements are extended to Rio Bueno, where they pasture some cattle, and raise vegetables.

The port of Valdivia, is situated 39 degrees 49 minutes 17 seconds, south latitude, and 67 degress 19 minutes 15 seconds longi-

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tude, west of Cadiz. The entrance is well fortified. The bay of Corral is the best anchoring ground.

Osorno was founded by Don Garcia, while governor of Valdivia. It is situated in the Huilli Maypu, in 41 degrees south latitude, six leagues south of Rio Bueno, and on the banks of the river Canogas. This town was destroyed by the Indians, and the towns of Carel Maypu, and Calbuco, were founded by the fugitives. Osorno was rebuilt in 1796, by the captain general O'Higgins, and is now a flourishing settlement. The town of San Jose de Alcudia, was built at the same time, in the plains of Molino, on the north bank of Rio Bueno, about ten leagues from Osorno.

A road was opened from Valdivia, to the Archipelago of Chiloe, by the garrison of Valdivia, and a party of Indians. They began at Raygue, and in a little more than three months, completed the road to the fort of Maullin, the last Spanish settlement on the continent, to the south, and situated opposite the north point of the Island of Chiloe. The Island of Caylin, in 43 degrees 34 minutes, south latitude, opposite the lofty peak of the Corcobado, is inhabited by some few Spanish descendants.

The river of La Plata, called by the natives Parana Quasu, (Great Parana,) was discovered by the Spaniards, under the conduct of Don Juan Dias de Solis, in the year 1516.*

The earliest establishment appears to have been made on its shores in 1526, by Sebastian Gabot, a Venitian navigator in the service of Spain; and the town of Buenos Ayres to have been first settled in 1535, by Don Pedro de Mendoza. After being twice destroyed by the Indians, it was rebuilt in 1580, and has flourished since that period. Buenos Ayres was at first annexed to the government of Paraguay, and afterwards made dependent upon the vice roy-

* The Portuguese claim the northern shore of the river La Plata, by right of discovery, and the Spanish authors are so very contradictory in their dates of the first voyage to that river, as to make it doubtful to an impartial reader. They generally agree, that the gold and silver which Sebastian Gabot, procured from the Guanani Indians, in the year 1526, had been taken from some Portuguese adventurers, who were returning from Peru; and that in 1535, Pedro de Mendoza, found a party of Portuguese on the northern shore of the La Plata. The Portuguese accounts, attribute the first discovery and settlement of that territory, to their countryman, Alexis and Diego Gayica; In the year 1680, the Portuguese formed a settlement on the northern shore of the river, and erected the fort of Colonia del Sacramento, directly opposite Buenos Ayres; the same year, they were driven out of it by the Spaniards, but it was restored by the provisional treaty of 1681. In 1705, Colonia was again wrested from the Portuguese, and was restored to them by the peace of Utrecht, in 1715: whereas, Montevideo and Maldonado, were not settled by the Spaniards, until the year 1724. Colonia was besieged and taken by the Spaniards, in 1762, but was again given up by the treaty of Paris, of 1763. The Portuguese were not entirely driven from their possession on the northern shore of the river, until the year 1777, and the right of territory, has remained a subject of dispute ever since. Commissioners have been appointed, and have frequently met, but have not been able to settle the claims of their respective courts. To the long residence of one of these unsuccessful commissioners, Azara, we owe an excellent work on the zoology of these countries.

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alty of Lima, and the audiencia of Charcas. In the year 1770, the provinces of Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, and Cuyo, were united under the government of a vice roy. In 1778, the provinces of Upper Peru were added to the vice royalty of Buenos Ayres. It extended on the north to the frontiers of the Brazils, and to the vice royalty of Lima, where it bounded on the provinces of Carabaya, Cusco, and Chucuito; and westwardly on the river Desaquadero and the province of Arica. It included the district of Atacama, which extends along the Pacific ocean from Arica to the desert of Atacama. On the west it was separated from Chile by the Cordilleras de los Andes; and extended south to the straits of Magellan.

By the decree of 1778, this vice royalty was divided into eight intendencias; each intendencia was subdivided into partidos, or districts.

The intendancy of Buenos Ayres, includes the town of Santa Fe, situated between the river Salado and the Parana, in 31 deg. 46 min. south latitude. Corrientes, situated on the east side of the Parana, near its junction with the Paraguay, in 27 deg. 33 min. south lat. The military government of Montevideo, situated on north east shore of the riuer of La Plata, in 34 deg. 54 min. 46 sec. south lat. and in 56 deg. 9 min. 15 sec. long. west of Greenwich. The territory of the eastern shore of Uruguay, or Banda Oriental, together with the thirty towns of Guaranis missions, on the river Uruguay, which formerly belonged to the Jesuits, and the territory of the Rio Negro, in Patagonia, which is occupied by a chain of military posts, extending from Luxan to the port of Rio Negro. Buenos Ayres, the capital, is situated in 34 deg. 25 min. 26 sec. south lat. and in 58 deg. 31 min. 13 sec. west long. It is the see of a bishop, and includes thirty-four curacies.

The principal articles of export from Buenos Ayres, are hides, tallow, horns, skins, bark, vecuna wool, copper, and the precious metals. Buenos Ayres is supplied with salt from the salt lakes in Patagonia, by annual caravans.

The intendancy of Paraguay, extends on the north and eastern bank of the river Paraguay, to the river Corrientes, which falls into the Paraguay, and to the mouth of the Jaura, in 16 deg. 34 min. 22 sec. south lat. On the east to the Brazils. On the south to the river Parana, from its confluence with the Paraguay, to the river Guasupraro, which falls into it a little to the west of the town of Candelaria. Thence the line runs to the mountains of Santa Ana, including the towns of Candelaria, Santa Ana, Loreto, San Ignacio Mini, and Corpus. This intendancy embraces the districts of Candelaria Santiago. Villarica, Curuguati, and Villareal. Paraguay is the see of a bishop, and includes twelve vicarages. The exports from this intendancy are sugar, cotton, tobacco, and the herb of Para-

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guay, commonly called matte, from the calabash in which it is served. The two last are the principal articles.

The capital town, Assumption, is situated in 25 deg. 16 min. 46 sec. south latitude.

The intendancy of Cordova, extends to the district of Tucuman on the north; west to the intendancy of Buenos Ayres; and on the east is bounded by Paraguay. It includes the districts of Mendoza, San Juan, San Luis, and Rioja.

The town of Cordova is the capital, and is situated in 31 deg. 15 min. south lat.. Mendoza is situated on a river of the same name, at the foot of the Cordilleras, in 33 deg. 31 min. 17 sec. south lat. The principal articles exported from this intendancy are grain, fruits, wine and brandy. The bishoprick of Cordova includes 8 vicarages.

The intendancy of Salta, extends on the north to the district of Tarija in Potosi; on the south to Cordova; west to the Cordilleras; and east to the grand Chaco. The districts of this intendancy are Tucuman, Santiago del Estero, Catamarca, Jujui, Neuva-Ovan, and Puna. Salta, the capital, is situated 24 deg. 30 min. south lat.

San Miguel, the chief town of the district of Tucuman, is situated in 27 deg. 10 min. south. The principal trade of this intendancy consists of horses and mules.

The intendancy of Potosi, extends on the north to the districts of Yamparaes, and Tomina in Charcas; south to the district of Jujui in Salta. It reaches west to the Pacific ocean; and is bounded on the east by Cochabamba. The districts of this intendancy are Porco, Chayanta, Chicas, Tarija, Lipes, and Atacama, which last is separated from the province of Arica by the river Loa, and from Chile by the desert of Atacama. The precious metals constitute the principal exports from this intendancy. Potosi, the capital town, is situated on the north side of the celebrated mountain of that name, in 19 deg. 50 min. south lat. and 66 deg. 16 min. west long. From the year 1736 to 1800, the tenths from the produce of the mines in Potosi, amounted to 18,618,917 dollars.

The intendancy of Charcas, sometimes called the presidency of Charcas, from being the seat of a royal audiencia, or supreme court, extends, north, to the intendancy of La Paz; south, to Potosi; west, to the Desaguadero; and east, to the intendancy of Cochabamba. This intendancy comprehends the districts of Yamparaes, Tomina, Pelaya, and Oruro. Charcas is an archbishoprick, and contains fourteen vicarages. The capital, Chuquisaca, called also La Plata, is situated in 19 degrees 25 minutes. This intendancy abounds in minerals, salt, sulphur, &c.

The intendancy of La Paz, extends, north, to the provinces

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of Carabaya, and Cuzco, in the vice royalty of Lima; south, to Charcas; west, to the provinces of Chucuito and Arica; and on the east, is bounded by the government of Moxos, and the intendancy of Cochabamba. The districts of this intendancy are Sicarica, Pacages, Omasuyos, (to which is annexed the island of Titicaca, in the lake of Chucuito,) Laricaxa, Chulumani, and Apolabamba.—The bishoprick of La Paz comprehends thirteen vicarages. La Paz, the capital of the intendancy, is situated in 16 degrees 50 minutes, south latitude. The chief produce is the Peruvian bark, and an herb called cocoa, which the Indians and creoles chew, and are very fond of. It is an article of export to the other provinces.

The intendancy of Cochabamba, extends, on the north, to the government of Moxos; south, it is bounded by the intendancies of Charcas and Potosi; west, by Charcas and La Paz; and east, by the river Paripiti; which separates it from the government of Chiquitos. The districts of this intendancy are Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Valle Grande, Mezque, Elisa, Arque, Tapacari, Hayopaya, and Sacaba.—The bishoprick of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, comprehends three vicarages, and four curacies. Cochabamba is the most fertile of all the intendancies, and is called the granary of Upper Peru. Orepesa, the capital, is situated in 17 degrees 2 minutes, south latitude.

The military government of Chiquitos, extends north, to the mountains of Tapacures, which divide it from Moxos; south, to the mountains of Zamucas; west, to the district of Santa Cruz de la Sierra; and is bounded on the east by the lake Xarayes. This government is inhabited principally by Indians. There are some missionary settlements among them.

The military government of Moxos is very extensive. Separated from Cochabamba by the Cordilleras, it extends south to Chiquitos, and east to the frontiers of the Brazils. It is divided into three districts; Moxos, Baures, and Pampas: and is inhabited by the tribes of Raches, Sirionos, Solostros, and Juracares, among whom are some missionary settlements.

There are several small harbors and roadsteads in the river of La Plata. Maldonado, situated on the north shore, is not far from the capes, and is said to be the best part of the river. The next, the port of Montevideo, is exposed to the southwest winds, which sweep over the plains of Buenos Ayres, and blow with incredible violence.

There are several inconsiderable roadsteads between Montevideo and the Ensenada de Barragan, the first good harbor on the southwestern shore of the river. This port is easy of access, and is protected on every side. The only objection to ships lying there, in preference to the insecure roadstead opposite the town of Buenos Ayres, is the low swampy land which surrounds Barragan, and renders the roads

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always bad, and in the winter almost impassable. There was a deduction of four and a half per cent. from the duties on goods landed at this port, in order to defray the expense of transportation to Buenos Ayres.

There is a small stream about two miles below Buenos Ayres, which is navigable to Baraceas. From hence lighters convey the cargoes to the outer roads.

The entrance of this creek is obstructed by a bar, and during the prevalence of westwardly winds, there is not water enough for the lighters to pass. This circumstance often occasions great detention in loading.

The tides extend a great distance up the river, but their duration depends upon the winds. Indeed the currents are so very uncertain and run with such rapidity, that it is advisable to heave the log with a lead attached to the line.

The city of Buenos Ayres is built on the south shore of the river, and extends along the bank nearly three miles. The streets intersect each other at right angles, dividing the town into solid squares of 150 yards each. The houses are generally two stories high and are built with terrace roofs. The city is defended by a fort, and is ornamented by convents, nunneries, churches, and the buildings formerly appropriated to the royal monopolies. The population of Buenos Ayres and of the adjacent country was estimated at about 70,000 souls.

The climate is healthy and temperate. The northerly winds when moderate, last for several days, and have the effect of the Sirocco on the feelings. When violent, this wind seldom lasts longer than twenty-four hours, shifting to the south and southeast with rain and thunder. These storms are invariably terminated by a Pampero or southwest wind. The west and west northwest winds blow with great violence, but are not frequent During the prevalence of the southwestwardly winds, the atmosphere is remarkably dry, and the electric fluid requires very great activity. On passing the low ridge which skirts the river, the eye extends over an immense plain, spotted with a few settlements and enclosures of the cylindrical opuntia, which attains a great height in this climate. Orchards of peach trees are cultivated to supply the town with fuel. The trees are planted very close to each other and are kept low, so as to resist the force of the winds which tear up larger trees.

The uncultivated plains in the vicinity of the city are overgrown with the wild artichoke. This wood grows with such luxuriance, that in the great scarcity of fuel, it is used to heat stoves and ovens.

These plains or pampas extend one hundred and sixty leagues in a west course from Buenos Ayres. They resemble very much the steeps of the south of Russia. Both exhibit the same boundless, unbroken expanse, the same fertility of soil during the rainy season, and dry parched appearance in the heat of summer; the total absence of trees; the streams few, flowing with a sluggish current and brack-

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ish to the taste; the lakes and ponds of both encrusted with salt. This mineral efflorescence on the surface of the soil in some places giving it the appearance of being covered by a hoar frost. The character of the inhabitants adds to the resemblance. The Querandis or Indians of the pampas are Nomades, living in temporary huts and tents on the borders of the rivers; and when they have exhausted the pasture on one spot, roving with their herds and flocks to where it is abundant. The small deer of the pampas resembles the antilope of the steeps; and the spur winged Thegel is common to both. On these plains animal putrefaction scarcely goes on at all. On the borders of the rivers, and in low wet places, the entrails of animals putrefy, but on the high land, animal substances will dry up. This is the case in some parts of Spain and Portugal, but at Buenos Ayres, where fuel is so scarce, this drying quality in the air enables the inhabitants to burn in their furnaces and kilns, the flesh and bones of animals. Sheep were formerly dryed, stacked, and sold at two dollars and a half the hundred for these purposes.

From the mildness of the climate, and the abundant pasture afforded by the extensive plains of Buenos Ayres, the cattle originally brought from Spain have become so numerous, that they furnish the chief support of the inhabitants; this is, perhaps, the cause of the miserable state of the interior of this country. It is not uncommon to see a proprietor of a league square of land, owning several thousand head of cattle, and sheep, and horses, living in a miserable hut, and having the bare necessaries of life. His house is covered with hides; his furniture is made of the same materials. His yard is enclosed by a few stakes, bound together with thongs; and he may be seen, with his herdsmen, seated by a fire, cutting off slices of beef from a spit stuck in the ground, and eating it without bread or salt.

In the vicinity of Buenos Ayres there are some very productive farms, and wheat and corn are raised in great abundance by simply scratching the ground with a wooden plough, and harrowing in the grain by drawing over it a hide filled with earth; even in the centre of the plains there are some spots cultivated in grain, but the distance from a market, prevent their raising more than sufficient for their own consumption. The eastern shore of the river of the Uruguay, including the shore of La Plata, abounds with cattle, and most of the inhabitants are shepherds; where the land is cultivated it has been found very productive, and this territory was the most valuable of the intendancy of Buenos Ayres. Paraguay is an agricultural province, and the domestic manufactures supply all the wants of the inhabitants. The effects of the government of the Jesuits, is still felt in this country. The people generally receive the rudiments of education; and are very subordinate to their leaders. They were organized into regiments of militia, and it is said that Paraguay can bring into the field upwards of 40,000 men. Many of the provinces of Upper Peru, possess mines; and the population is divided between the wealthy proprietors, the speculators, and those who work

in the mines; and here is to be found all the corruption and misery which are inseparable from this species of gambling.

Cochabamba, and some other provinces, are agricultural, and the inhabitants are active and intelligent; during the time Upper Peru was in the power of the royalists, the spirit of the revolution has been kept up in these provinces by the Guerillas of Cochabamba.

In the city of Buenos Ayres, property is equally divided; there are no very large proprietors, no entailed estates, and but little property in mortmain; the inhabitants are generally well informed, and their intercourse with foreigners, has given them habits of industry.

There is very little mixture of blood in Buenos Ayres, and there are only three casts: the creoles, Indians, and negroes. Notwithstanding, this port was for sometime the enterport of the African trade; very few slaves remained at Buenos Ayres, and the government has been able to emancipate them without any serious injury to society.

Previous to the late revolution, the means of education were withheld from the creoles. It is true that there were colleges at Cordova, Chuquisaca, and Santiago de Chile, where the student was taught latin,* law, and theology; but they were prohibited from reading any book that could enlarge their views, or give them an idea of their civil or political rights. Every work that bore the stamp of genius was prohibited by the inquisition.

It was considered sinful to read any book marked with the censure of the church, and was deemed an act of piety to denounce any one who was known to possess such a work.

When this restraint was removed, they read eagerly the theories of speculative, politicians, and the controvercies, and attacks on the christian religion published at the commencement of the French revolution; they saw the monstrous absurdity of the doctrines which had been taught them; and they too often stopped there, and became sceptics in religion, and in politics, wild, and theoretical; their legislators were ignorant of the principles of political economy, and the common maxims of the science of legislation.

In the first government, the executive and legislative powers were vested in the deputies of Buenos Ayres; next, in an assembly of all the deputies from the chief towns. This assembly transferred their executive powers to a junta of three, and styled themselves the sovereign assembly, declaring the executive and magistrates subordinate to them; the executive refused to acknowledge their sovereignty, and published an estitute or provisional constitution. By this constitution, one member of the executive resigned his office at the expiration of every six months, and no one could act, as president, for a longer period. The new members were to be elected by an assembly composed of the municipality of the representatives of the towns,

*The practice of the law in these countries was not, as in the United States, an open appeal to impartial justice; but the art of multiplying acts and procrastinating a suit, until the favor of the judge was secured by bribery or influence.

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and of a considerable number of citizens elected by the people of the capital, according to the manner to be hereafter prescribed by this government. The government formed a high court of appeal; they decreed the liberty of the press, and the security of individuals from illegal arrest. These decrees have been renewed by each successive government; but the people of these countries never have enjoyed the freedom of the press or individual security. This junta took the title of the Superior Provisional Government of the United Provinces of the river of La Plata, in the name of Ferdinand the Seventh. Pamphlets No. 1, contains the constitution and the decrees. Shortly after this estitute was published, the assembly was dissolved; after dissolving another assembly, this government was abolished, and a supreme director chosen. The congress afterwadrs assembled and confirmed this form of government, and the same men who voted to deprive the president of the first junta of all distinctions, and whose fears were excited by his having an escort of twenty-five dragoons, have vested the supreme director with regal power, and have given him a guard of three hundred select cavalry.

In all these changes the people have borne but little part. In a capital, containing upwards of 50,000 inhabitants, not more than five or six hundred have ever voted; and the town meetings which generally decided the change of rulers, and often the form of government, were rarely composed of more than two or three hundred; sometimes of less than one hundred persons. Since the commencement of the revolution there has been a constant struggle for power between the capital and the provinces.

Buenos Ayres has hitherto maintained the ascendancy from the superior intelligence of the inhabitants, and from having within itself the means of carrying on the war; the duties on imports and exports furnish the principal resources of the government, and the leaders of the revolution are for the most part citizens of Buenos Ayres. The provinces are governed by a commander appointed by the executive of Buenos Ayres. Paraguay first revolted from this dependance on the capital, and from the commencement of the revolution to the present day has been governed by its own chiefs: they are not at war with Buenos Ayres, but have no connexion nor hold any communication with that government; they too have tried a great many political experiments, and their present form of government is copied from the ancient Roman: it consists of a senate, and two consuls. Francea, the principal leader in the revolution, is said to govern that country despotically. As in Buenos Ayres, the constitutional restrictions have been found a feeble check to the arbitrary exercise of military power.

The inhabitants of the eastern shore of La Plata have refused to submit to the capital, and have successfully opposed the arms and negotiations of Buenos Ayres: their character is represented as turbulent and daring, but they are warlike and enthusiastically attached to their leader, Artigas, who contends for independence, both from the

government of Spain and from that of Buenos Ayres. No government has ever been organized on the territory of the eastern shore, owing to the dissentions between the capital and the provinces; the people of Peru have not taken a very active part in the revolution, and many creoles were to be found in the royal armies; the influence of the clergy contributed for some time to this state of things; by the Spanish laws, the high officers in the convent were divided alternately between the European and the creole monks: the church being the only road to preferment open to the creoles, they crowded into it; but this alternative balanced their influence. The European monks, sent from Spain, were chosen from among the most zealous and intelligent; and from the pulpit and in the confessional chair successfully inculcated the doctrines of divine right, and of unqualified submission to the king, and above all, of implicit belief in the infallibility of the clergy.

The government of Buenos Ayres abolished the alternative, and banished some of the most intolerant of the European monks and clergy. The creoles who have taken orders, are enthusiastic in favor of the revolution, and have been highly useful to that cause in the interior provinces. The influence of the clergy in the city of Buenos Ayres, appears to be at an end. The condition of the people of Chile is different from that of any other of the Spanish colonies; the country is, for the most part, in the hands of large proprietors, who let out their lands to tenants, upon the conditions of personal service, and of the payment of a moderate rent in produce, as the landlord may, at will, drive the tenant from his farm, or augment the rent; according to the increased value. The farmers are deterred from improving their houses or land, and content themselves with raising what is necessary to pay the landlord, and to subsist their families: most of the large estates are grazing farms, and the personal services of the tenants, consists principally in tending the cattle; they are expected, however, at all times to be ready to obey the orders of their landlord. Many of these estates are entailed, and all of them encumbered with some legacy to the church: more than half the property in Chile is in mortmain. With few exceptions, the clergy have been opposed to the revolutions in each of the districts. In Chile there is a regiment of militia cavalry, well mounted, and armed with lances: these regiments are under the control of the colonel, and have, in every instance, followed him to the field, and fought for the cause he espoused. Unfortunately, this country has been divided into violent and irreconcilable factions, by two powerful families. The Carrras and Larrains, both equally anxious to liberate their country from the yoke of Spain, and both using every means in their power to obtain the command.

In Lima there has been no revolutionary movement. The landed estates are in the hands of large proprietors, and are cultivated by slaves; they are fearful, that any attempt to change the form of government, would be attended by a loss of their property, and

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from the great number of blacks and mulattoes in this vice royalty, the contest would probably terminate in the same manner as the revolution of St. Domingo

Buenos Ayres and Chile have been virtually independent for the last eight years, and the effect upon the character and condition of the people, has been highly beneficial. The human mind appears to have risen with elasticity, from the weight of tyranny which had so long oppressed it, and to have improved rapidly in the arts, in knowledge, and in all the comforts and enjoyments of life; these are benefits which will not be surrendered without a desperate struggle. Their forces are numerous, well organized, and disciplined; and were the provinces united, they possesss the means of defending themselves against the efforts both of Spain and Portugal. Their dissensions and ambition, render them in the opinion of some, unworthy to be free; but let us recollect, that the virtues which adorn society, and brighten the page of history, are the offspring of freedom and science; and that when a people have been, for centuries, kept in subjection by ignorance and superstition, the first effort to burst their fetters, will call into action the most violent of the human passions, and hurry men to commit the greatest excesses. The course of such a revolution, will be too often stained by cruelties and crimes, and will almost inevitably terminate in a military despotism. From the mild and intelligent character of the creoles of South America, there is every reason to hope, that when emancipated from Spain and relieved from these present difficulties, they will follow the bright example of the United States, and establish a government of laws.

From the year 1580, when the city of Buenos Ayres was permanently settled, until the year 1778, the history of these countries comprises only a series of domestic vexations from the despotism of vice roys, of privations from monopolies and commercial restrictions, and of sufferings from wars foreign to their interests. In the year 1778, the Indians of the provinces of Upper Peru, made an ineffectual attempt to shake off the Spanish yoke; they assembled in great force and under the command of Tupac Amaru a descendant of the Incas of Peru, plundered and destroyed a great many small towns; they twice laid siege to the city of La Paz, but, being without fire arms, or ignorant of the use of them, they were repulsed with great loss; after a hopeless contest of three years, they were defeated by the combined armies of Buenos Ayres and Lima. Tupac Amaru, who had been proclaimed Inca, fell into the hands of the conquerors, and, together with the principal leaders of the revolt, was put to death with the most cruel torments. This decisive action put an end to the insurrections of the Indians of Peru, and these colonies remained tranquil until the sudden invasion of the English in 1806.

Sir Home Popham, aware of the disposition of his government to obtain a footing in the Spanish colonies, and well informed of the defenceless state of Buenos Ayres, determined to make an attack up-

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on that city, instead of returning direct to England from the Cape of Good Hope, he entered the river La Plata, and to the astonishment and consternation of the inhabitants, general Berresford landed a few miles below the city of Buenos Ayres, and with two thousand men. The vice roy Sobiemento, was panic struck; arms were distributed to the militia, who, ignorant of their use, ran out without order to look at the enemy, and general Berresford marched into the city and took possession of the citadal without opposition. Don Juan Martin Puerrydon was the only officer who at the head of a company of hussars harassed the enemy's march.

Sir Home Popham, returned to England with the fleet; and general Berresford, did every thing that could be expected, from a brave and generous commander, to reconcile the inhabitants, and to secure his conquest. These officers had calculated only the facility of surprising the town, and had overlooked the difficulty of keeping possession of an enemy's country with a small force, at so great a distance from their resources. The inhabitants were irreconcilably opposed to the British. The chevalier de Liniers, a French emigrant, in the service of Spain, passed over to the eastern shore of the river, and excited the inhabitants to arms; and the vice roy, who had fled to Montevideo, assembled a small force, the command of which was given to Liniers; he crossed the river, and was joined by all the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, who could escape the vigilance of the British sentinels.

The English commander, being summoned to surrender the town, signified his determination to defend himself to the last extremity. General Liniera, at the head of his irregular forces, immediately commenced the attack, and soon drove the garrison into the fort, where they were forced to capitulate.

The British general officers, were sent on their parole to Luxan, a small town twelve leagues from Buenos Ayres, and the rest of the prisoners were marched into the interior.

The emancipation of the Spanish colonies, appears to have been a favorite project of Mr. Pitt. The ex Jesuit Don Juan Pablo Viscardi Gusman, a native of Arequipa, and an enthusiast in favor of the liberty of America, had frequent conferences with that minister, and in his answers to a series of inquiries presented to him, gave a favorable view of the facility, with which a revolution might be effected in that country. He afterwards published in London, an eloquent appeal to his countrymen, exhorting them to shake off the yoke of Spain. During the administration of Mr. Adams, some proposals on this subject, are said to have been made to our government by the British ministry, which were not acceded to. In 1797, a disposition to emancipate their country, was manifested by the inhabitants of the Caraccas, and was encouraged by general Picton's proclamation, issued from the Island of Trinidad.

In 1804, Mr. Pitt's eagerness to open this market to the trade of Great Britian, induced him to aid the untimely and ill planned expe-

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dition of Miranda, and it appeared at the trial of sir Home Popham, that the administration had countenanced the attack on Buenos Ayres.

From the little opposition experienced by the British troops on this expedition, and from the facility with which Buenos Ayres had been occupied, the plan of emancipating these colonies appears to have been relinquished; and the conquest of all the Spanish possessions in America determined upon by the British cabinets. This change of policy may be inferred from comparing the proclamation of Sir Thomas Picton, published at Trinidad by order of Mr. Dundas, minister of his Britannic majesty for foreign affairs, dated 26th of June, 1797; and the instructions given in 1807, to generals Whitelock and Crawford. The former encourages the inhabitants "to resist the oppressive authority of their government;" and declares, that "they may be certain, whenever they are in that disposition, to receive all the succours to be expected from his Britannic majesty, be it with forces, or with arms and ammunition, to any extent; with the assurance that the views of his Britannic majesty go no further than to secure to them their independence, without pretending to any sovereignty over their country, nor even to interfere in the privileges of the people, nor in their political, civil, or religious rights."

The instructions of the right honorable Mr. Windham, secretary at war to generals Whitelock and Crawford, were in a different spirit. The first was to proceed, with the forces under his command, to the river of Plata, and to take possession of Buenos Ayres in the name and behalf of his Britannic majesty. He is ordered not to introduce into the government any alteration, except in the appointment of individuals whose change should be found necessary; nor to give any assurance that they shall not be given up to Spain at the conclusion of the present war.

General Crawford was to proceed to the river of La Plata, subject to the orders of general Whitelock. Thence, as it was supposed that his forces would not be required after the reduction of Buenos Ayres, he was directed to pass round Cape Horn, and take possession of Valparaiso. He is ordered to *discourage all hopes of any other change in the condition of these countries, than that of transferring their dominion to the crown of Great Britain.*

The generals on the Atlantic and Pacific, are instructed to establish a line of military posts across the continent. Their operations are limited strictly to these points, whatever prospects of easy conquest may be held out from the defenceless state of Peru, as an untimely movement might defeat the ulterior operations intended against those countries. These instructions are to be found among the official documents annexed to the report of general Whitelock's trial, published in 1808.

The following extracts from general Whitelock's defence, will show the effect of this policy upon the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres;

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and will give the opinion of the commanders of that expedition, with respect to the means of defence.

"It was known that the people were divided into factions, and that various causes had rendered a large proportion of the inhabitants ripe for revolt; and great numbers were anxiously looking to a separation from their mother country, as the only means of availing themselves of the natural advantages of their local situation. It was therefore naturally concluded, that people who feel themselves oppressed rather than protected, as excluded by restrictions founded upon a narrow and selfish policy, from many commercial advantages, would gladly change their government; and if it were once established in a military post in the country, the above causes would make it easy to open an extensive intercourse with the inhabitants, and new channels for trade and commerce.

It was supposed, that the character of this country,* for liberality and good conduct towards those who came under our dominion, ensured us the good wishes of the greater part, and the co-operation of a large proportion, at least, of the community. The public hopes and expectations were raised to the highest pitch, and no suspicion existed that it was possible for the greatest part of the population of South America to entertain any other than a just feeling of attachment to our government; still less, that it was possible that such a rooted antipathy could exist against us, as to justify the assertions, (the truth of which has been proved to demonstration) that we had not, when I arrived in South America, among the inhabitants, one single friend in the whole country. Whether the opinion of the illustrious statesman,† now no more, who had so frequently turned his thoughts towards South America, had led him to contemplate the propriety of establishing military posts there, or the co-operating only with those who would gladly have followed the example of North America, and availed themselves of our assistance, in establishing their independence, I have no means of knowing; but, experience has shown, that any other course of proceeding than that last mentioned, even if most successful, and almost in proportion to success, must have had the effect of placing us at a greater distance, than even from our ultimate objects, those of friendly intercouse and trade with the country.

It is supposed in my instructions, that after effecting my first object, I might safely part with a proportion of the force under my command, and retain only about eight thousand, which, it was supposed must, in any case, in addition to such troops as I might raise in the country, be amply sufficient to conquer and keep possession of the country; for such had been the misrepresentations to government upon this subject, that it was supposed that a considerable force of this description might with safety be established. I was directed, as the court will have observed, to use precaution as to the raising of

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* Great Britain. † Mr. Pitt.

this local force; and particularly to take care, that one-third of each rank of officers should be British, and to select the description and classes out of which it was to be framed; but, subject to these precautions, it was conceived, and so stated in my instructions, that much aid might be derived from this source towards securing his majesty's possessions in that quarter, and avoiding, at the same time, the necessity of too large a demand on the regular forces of this country, (I use the very words of the instructions,) such, as the court will have seen, was the impression in this country, on my appointment to the command. What was the actual situation of the country on my arrival?

I naturally resorted to the very able and experienced officer who commanded at Montevideo, and who had diligently employed himself in acquiring every possible information upon this subject. I found that in the course of his operations against Montevideo, and after its capture, he had every reason to believe, that the people were, without exception, inimical to us; that previous to the surrender of Montevide, he could place no confidence in any information he received, and that, after its capture, a sullen silence pervaded every rank. But he also found reason to believe, that however inimical they were to us, they were still more so to their present government, for upon reports arriving at Montevideo, which afterwards proved false, of the abolition of the court of Audienza, the setting aside of the king's authority, and not hoisting the Spanish colors; those who had appeared hostile and inveterate, now pressed him to advance a corpse to Buenos Ayres, and assured him that if he would acknowledge their independence, and promise them the protection of the English government, the place would submit.

The party in power were mostly all natives of Spain, in the principal offices of church and state, and devoted to the Spanish government. The second party consisted of natives of the country, with some Spaniards settled in it. The disposition of the mother country had made them most anxious to shake off the Spanish yoke, and though from their ignorance, their want of morals, and the barbarity of their dispositions, they were totally unfit to govern themselves, they aimed at following the steps of the North Americans, and erecting an independent state. If we would promise them independence, they would instantly revolt against the government, and join us with the great mass of the inhabitants. The next consideration was our giving up the footing we had in South America. On this subject many important considerations presented themselves. First: The situation of the country, and the nature of our instructions. It was supposed from the information received by government, that the country would be conquered and kept in subjection by 8000 troops, which was considered as a large force; but the information received by government upon this subject, must have been founded in ignorance of the true state of the country. I found on my arrival, that the resistance we should have to contend with, far exceeded every calculation; not a single friend

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had we in the country, on the contrary every inhabitant was determined to exert his individual strength. Upon this subject, I rely upon the experience of Sir Samuel Auchmuty, who stated that *double the number* of *troops* I have mentioned would be required to *conquer* and *keep possession of the country*." On the return of the vice roy Sobremonte from Montevideo, the people refused to receive him, and wished to proclaim Leniers. That officer appeased the tumult and reinstated Sobremente in his command. The cabildo however, deposed him as soon as they heard of the approach of another British expedition, and gave the command to Leniers. They then despatched a deputation to Spain, in consequence of which Sobremente was recalled and Don Santiago Leniers appointed vice roy of La Plata.

The advanced guard of the second expedition, under the command of sir Samuel Auchmuty, landed on the eastern shore of the river of La Plata, and laid siege to Montevideo. Soon after batteries were opened, a breach was made, and the place taken by assault. The main body, under general Whitelock, arrived in the river of Plate, on the 9th of May, 1807, and after remaining at Montevideo until the arrival of general Crawford's division, the British army proceeded up to Buenos Ayres; general Whitelock following the example of general Berresford, landed his troops below the town, and experienced incredible difficulty in the transportation of his artillery over the low swampy lands which skirt the borders of the river.

The country people were decidedly hostile, and none could be prevailed upon to serve as guides or to procure cattle for the army. The columns mistook the road and the men were almost famished when they arrived before the town. The want of proper accommodations for his troops, and the dread of the rainy season induced general Whitelock to order an immediate attack. During the march of the British troops from Ensenada, the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres recovered from their first panic; and dispositions were made to defend the town by cutting ditches across the principal streets, placing the militia on the flat roofs, and securing the entrance of the houses.

Sir Samuel Auchmuty, who commanded one column of attack, entered the upper part of the town, and after a sanguinary conflict, drove the Spaniards from the square, and took possession of the plasa de toros, a large circular building, where the bull fights are held. This position commands the whole town. General Crawford led the column which entered the lower part of the town; he met with little opposition, until he had advanced within a few hundred yards of the fort; suddenly a tremendous fire was opened upon the column from the windows. Bombs and grenades were showered down upon the ranks from the roofs of the houses; without petaras, scaling ladders, or even axes, the troops in vain endeavored to break open the doors; and general Crawford, after losing half his force, without being able to make any effectual resistance, retreated into a large church, where he defended himself for some time; the church was

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exposed to the fire of the fort, and he was at length compelled to surrender at discretion. This decided the fate of the expedition.

General Whitelock was informed of the capture of general Crawford's colums, and it was intimated to him, that if the attack continued it would be impossible to protect the prisioners from the rage of the people. Finding that the object of the government could not be accomplished, he entered into a treaty with Leniers, by which he agreed to evacuate Montevideo, and the territory of the river of La Plata, provided he was permitted to re-embark his troops. These conditions were immediately conceded, and the British forces abandoned the shores of La Plata.

The expedition under general Whitelock, assisted by the disposition of the people, might have secured the emancipation of these colonies, but was not adequate to transfer their dominion to the crown of Great Britain.

The revolution in Spain changed the destination of a still more formidable expedition fitted out by Great Britain, and intended for the final conquest of these colonies. Monsuer de Chasne, an emessary of Napolean arrived in Buenos Ayres in 1808. The vice roy, Liniers, laid his despatches before the audiencia, and the cabildo, and Monsuer de Chasne was sent off. He afterwards fell into the hands of general Elio; and after experiencing the most cruel treatment was sent back to Buenos Ayres, from whence he was conveyed as a prisoner to Cadiz.

The vice roy, Liniers, issued about this time a proclamation setting forth the state of the peninsula and exhorting the people to remain tranquil, and to follow the fortune of the mother country whatever might be the issue of the persent contest; the same language was held by the regancy of Spain. In an address to the Americans, they say, it is not sufficient for you to be Spaniards, unless whatever be the event of fortune, you also belong to Spain.

General Elio who had been appointed military governor of Montevideo, had secretly excited the inhabitants of the eastern shore, to revolt against the authority of the vice roy. He now accused Leniers of treason, refused to obey his orders, and formed a junta in Montevideo, on the moddle of the provincial government in Spain. The arrival of Goyeneche who left Madrid as the emissary of Murat, and afterwards accepted a commission from the junta of Seville, to proclaim Ferdinand the seventh in south America, contributed to agitate the public mind, and to encourage the spirit of revolution. The people were invited to take part with dissentions of the chiefs, and were called upon for the first time to think and to act. Goyeneche landed at Montevideo, where he approved the conduct of general Elio, and assured him, that the formation of a junta would be highly acceptable to the government of Spain; at Buenos Ayres he applauded the loyalty of Leniers; in the provinces through which he passed, on his way to Lima, he advised the establishment of juntas. At Lima he solicited and obtained the command of the army sent against the

junta of La Paz, and conducted the war against that province in the most sanguinary and impolitic manner.

Notwithstanding the central junta of Spain had been recognized by Leniers, and through his influence by the people of Buenos Ayres, that government listened to the accusations of his enemies and superceded the only man, whose popular character and services to the state, could have preserve this colony from immediate revolt.

On the arrival of the new vice roy, Cisneros, Liniers was strongly solicited to retain the command. The military offered to support him; and hopes were entertained by the patriots, that the impolicy and injustice of the Spanish government, would drive over to their party this able and popular leader. But Leniers, who appeares to have acted throughout with chivalric honor, disappointed their hopes, by privately withdrawing himself from the solicitations of his friends, and the persecution of his enemies.

Cisneros did not possess the character or abilities necessary to repress the revolutionary spirit of the people of Buenos Ayres. The decree of free trade, extorted from this vice roy in 1809, increased their intercoure with foreigners; and the ignorance and superstition by which their allegiance had been hitherto secured, was fast wearing away; while their conquest of the capital, and their successful defence against the last formidable invasion, without any assistance from the mother country, gave them confidence in their strength and resources.

Shortly after the news of the seizure of the royal family reached the Brazils, manifests were published by the Infant Don Pedro, and by the Princess Charlotte, the sister of Ferdinand the Seventh, and the consort of the present king of Portugal, setting forth their right to the Spanish dominions in America. They were accompanied by letters addressed to the vice roys, and governors of provinces, and were circulated from Mexico to Buenos Ayres. The first scheme of the revolutionists was formed upon these pretensions.

They proposed to deliver up the country to the Princess Charlotte, expecting to retain the administration in their own hands; and intending, at some more fortunate period, to assert their entire independence.

They despatched an agent, with their proposals, to Rio de Janerio. The princess accepted their offer, upon condition that they should admit a Portuguese garrison into Buenos Ayres. As this measure would have defeated the plan of the revolutionists, the negotiation was dropped.

The first revolutionary movement in the vice roy of La Plata, was made in La Paz; and a junta was formed in the capital of that intendancy, after the plans of the provisional juntas of Spain.

The vice roy of Lima resolved immediately to suppress this party, and despatched Goyeneche, at the head of a large force, into Upper Peru. La Paz was taken, and the members of the junta, with some of the principal citizens, put to death—the first example of the exterminating fury with which Goyeneche conducted the war in

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Upper Peru. The failure of the plan to transfer the government to the Princess Charlotte, obliged the leaders of the revolution to adopt more decisive measures. Their intentions were discovered, and it was expected that every means would be used to frustrate them. Their danger obliged them to act with promptness and resolution; and the first attempt of the vice roy to check them, was followed by an open declaration on their part. He was peremptorily ordered to resign his command; and after a short struggle, and a vain appeal to the people, was obliged to comply. Immediately upon his resignation, a meeting of the principal inhabitants was held in the town-hall of Buenos Ayres. In this assembly, the bishop, whose influence had hitherto been unbounded, ventured to oppose the current of public opinion: but his authority was no longer sacred; and his assertions, that the last Spaniard who remained in America, ought by right to govern the country, excited such universal indignation, and drew upon him such a torrent of abuse, that he retired to his palace, confounded and dismayed.

This assembly still wishing to temporize, created a provisional junta, and named the ex-vice roy, president; but the people who had felt their power refused all compromise, and on the 25th of May, 1810, a junta was elected from the creoles of Buenos Ayres, and took possession of the command, amidst the universal acclamations of the people.

Every exertion wa immediately made to extend the revolution to the interior provinces; and troops were despatched to favor the patriots in Peru and Paraguay.

The ex-vice roy and fiscals endeavored to counteract this plan, and maintained a correspondence with the Spanish authorities in those provinces; as soon as this conduct was known to the government, they were summoned to the fort, and directly conveyed on board an English cutter, chartered to transport them to the Canaries. The royal audience was at the same time dismissed, for contempt of the junta; and the cabildo, chiefly composed of Europeans, having, in a secret meeting, sworn allegiance to the regency of Spain, the members were banished, and it was declared by law, that no European should hold any public office under the government of Buenos Ayres.

The count de Leniers, who had retired to Cordava, assembled a small force, and determined to oppose the progress of the revolution in the interior. Before he had time to strengthen himself, his party was attacked and totally defeated by the troops of Buenos Ayres; and he, with the bishop, the governor of Cordova, and four of the principal officers, fell into the hands of the victors.

Either from the personal enmity of his judges, or from fear of his popularity and extensive influence, which made it equally dangerous at that early stage of their revolution, to banish or to imprison him, it was resolved in the junta, that Leniers and his accomplices should be put to death, except the bishop, whose sacred character protected him. They were met on the road to the capital by a mili-

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tary commission, and were shot, after being confessed by the bishop, who was forced to witness the execution of his friends.

The expedition to Upper Peru was conducted by a commission; Castelle was the member selected for this important command; he was one of the earliest and most distinguished leaders of the revolution from the junta of Buenos Ayres.

The Indians were emancipated from the most oppressive services, the auxilliary army, hailed by these unfortunate people, and by the creoles, as their deliverers, soon occupied the whole territory of the vice royalty; and the towns were invited to elect deputies to represent them in the congress, about to be held at the capital.

In the mean time, the dissentions natural to a government composed of one numerous body, broke out, and produced those factions which have since divided their councils, and distracted the state. They originated in the personal animosities of the president of the junta,* and of the secretary of state;† a man of violent temper, ardent in his love of liberty, and too conscious of his superior abilities to brook controul. As the secretaries had a right to deliberate and vote in the junta, he was enabled to oppose the president in all his views, and obtained a decree depriving him of all distinction, except that of his presidency when sitting in junta. On the arrival of the deputies from the provinces, they were admitted unto the provincial government, and the spirit of party was augmented by this accession of numbers. As they had been received contrary to the opinion of the secretary, who contended, that it defeated the intention of the election, which had been to form a deliberative body, the president found no difficulty to procure the secretary's banishment; he was sent on mission to England, and died on his passage.

The members of the opposition unable to resist the president's party in the junta, determined to establish a club in the city; and by uniting the most factious of the military and citizens, controul the measures of government. Aware of the probable effects of this combination against him, the president had recourse to the most violent and unjustifiable measures to destroy it. On the morning of the 5th of April, 1811, three regiments devoted to his interest, were drawn up in the principal square of the city. The corporations were assembled, and the petition was presented to them from two or three hundred peasants, who, in the name of the people demanded the banishment of the members and officers most inimical to the president. The corporation awed by the military, reluctantly complied; the obnoxious persons were banished, the club abolished, and a num. of the citizens thrown in prison.

This impolitic measure was the cammencement of those violent changes, which have so frequently retarded the progress of the revolution. The leaders of the army of Peru, which was now encamped on the frontiers of the vice royalty of Lima, declared against the re-

*Don Cornelio Saavedra. †Moreno.

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volution of 5th April, and threatened to turn their arms against its authors. It was thought a necessary measure of precaution on the part of the junta, to introduce discord among the chiefs; and their dissentions finally occasioned the entire defeat of that army, at the battle of Hualqui, when the royalists and patriots mutually accused each other of breaking an armistice. The news of this disaster, which well nigh proved the ruin of their cause, was received with joy by the reigning party in Buenos Ayres, who only saw in it the destruction of a formidable rival.

The junta of Buenos Ayres had neglected to occupy the important place of Montevideo, at the commencement of the revolution, and the Spanish marine, which, with equal oversights had been permitted to leave Buenos Ayres, rendezvoused there, and commenced hostilities against the junta; they harrassed the commerce on the rivers, and blockaded the ports of Buenos Ayres.

On the arrival of general Elio, with the appointment of captain general and vice roy of these provinces, he withdrew the blockade, and made an attempt to get possession of the command, either as vice roy, or as president of the junta.

His proposals were treated with contempt by the government of Buenos Ayres; and he, shortly after, despatched a small squadron to the Parana, in order to destroy some vessels belonging to Buenos Ayres, which were stationed there for the protection of the trade. This was effected, and the blockade renewed. The British admiral did not consider the authority of the vice roy sufficient to establish a legal blockade; and came down in person, from Rio de Janeiro, to insist upon the inviolability of the British flag. After some negotiations with general Elio, he gave orders to the commander on this station, to protect the entrance of British vessels into all the ports of the river of La Plata. The blockade became, therefore, of no effect; and the squadron was employed in ravaging the coast; but returned, from time to time, to bombard the city.

During these attacks, the Europeans in Buenos Ayres were harrassed and mortified. The unmarried were banished; and those who remained were subjected to the most vexatious and humiliating regulations.

In the midst of these transactions, the inhabitants of the eastern shore of the river of La Plata, had been excited to revolt against the European authorities in Montevideo, and as general Elio was particularly disliked by them, this was easily effected; they rose in mass, defeated the royalists at Pudras, and drove them within the walls of the town.

A small regular force was immediately despatched to aid their operations, and that town was blockaded by land.

The expedition against Paraguay had failed of its object, and had served only to irritate the inhabitants of that province; and although they shortly afterwards expelled their European magistrates, and established a provisional junta, they have constantly refused

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all connexion with Buenos Ayres. General Elio, alarmed at the spirit manifested by the people of the eastern shore, and pressed by a besieging army, sent deputies to Buenos Ayres to solicit peace; offering to return to Spain, and stipulating that the town of Montevideo should send a deputy to the congress of Buenos Ayres, provided it was suffered to remain independent of the junta. The news of the revolution in Paraguay which was received at the same time, prevented the government of Buenos Ayres from acceding to this proposal. Ignorant of the intention of the chiefs of that province, and presuming that they would unite in the common cause, they insisted upon the unconditional surrender of Montevideo. General Elio then applied for assistance to the court of Brazils; that cabinet in hopes to realize their favorite project, and to obtain possession of Montevideo, immediately granted his request, and 2,500 men were ordered to pass the frontiers. In consequence of this measure, the situation of Buenos Ayres became alarming; from the state of their discipline the defeat at Hualqui, proved a total dispersion of that army; and the forces of Lima successively occupied La Paz, Potosi, and Cochabamba.

The Portuguese troops advanced rapidly to the relief of Montevideo, and great discontent reigned in the capital. In this state of affairs it was thought advisable, that the president should proceed to Peru, in order to collect their scattered forces, and by his presence restore the confidence of the inhabitants of the provinces, not yet occupied by the enemy. He consented to this arrangement, and appointed to the command of the garrison, during his absence, those men who had served under him in the revolution of the fifth of April, and of whose attachment and fidelity he felt secure. He had scarcely left the capital, before a town meeting was assembled, which deposed him. They then named an executive of three,* and declared the assembly of deputies a deliberative body. In their eagerness to change, they neglected to secure themselves against the abuse of power.

They entrusted to the executive the right of enacting their own laws, and permitted them to frame a constitution for their own government. The legislative assembly proved an intolerable restraint upon an executive furnished with such powers, and a pretext was soon found to dissolve that body.

The first act of the new government of Buenos Ayres, had been to conclude a treaty with general Elio, by which it was agreed on the one part, that the troops should be withdrawn from the siege of Montevideo; and that that place, including the eastern side of the river of Plate, should remain under the Spanish authorities; on the other part, that the trade of Buenos Ayres should not be molested, and that the Portuguese forces should retire to their own frontier. On the

* Chicana, Saratea, Passos were the members chosen upon this occasion. The secretaries of this junta, were Rivadavia and Peves.

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part of Buenos Ayres, the conditions of this treaty were faithfully executed; and the territory of the eastern shore was immediately evacuated by their troops. General Elio, who had discovered the intentions of the court of Brazils, had been induced to conclude this treaty from fear of so dangerous an ally. But the commander of the Portuguese army, who had been made a party in the treaty without being consulted, declared that he could not act until he received instructions from his court; and proceeded to fortify himself in Maldonado. Having failed in this attempt to obtain possession of Montevideo, without which it was impossible to retain any part of the eastern shore, the Portuguese court sent an agent to Buenos Ayres, and concluded an armistice with that government; in consequence of which, their troops evacuated the territory of La Plata.

The people of the eastern shore, who dreaded the vengeance of the royalists, to which they had been shamefully abandoned, deserted their homes, drove off their cattle, and followed Artigas, their favorite leader, to the other side of the Uraguay

Shortly after the return of the army from Montevideo, an unsuccessful attempt was made by the regiment of patricians, to effect a revolution, and to re-establish their former colonel, the first president of the junta. Although abandoned in the moment of execution, by the officers who had excited the revolt, they were not reduced, until after a bloody conflict.

As soon as it was known in Spain, that general Elio had concluded a treaty with Buenos Ayres, he was recalled; and his successor, general Vegodet, who arrived with reinforcements, recommenced hostilities against the revolutionary government. The command of the army of Buenos Ayres, was entrusted to a member, Don Manuel Sarratea, of the executive, who crossed the river at Santa Fe, and again invested Montevideo.

A government so constituted as that of Buenos Ayres, without restrictions, and without responsibility, could not long command the confidence of the people, or exist in harmony.

The citizens were oppressed, and the rulers were entirely taken up with their own private animosities and disputes. These dissentions, as usual, soon extended their effects to the armies before Montevideo. The inhabitants of the eastern shore, separated their forces from those of Buenos Ayres; and the latter caballed against their commander in chief, dismissed, and appointed one of their own choice. The Europeans saw, in these disorders, a favorable opportunity to effect a counter revolution. A plan was formed to obtain the watchword, by surprizing the patroles, to seize on the barracks, and favored by a descent from the squadron of Montevideo, get possession of the city.

This conspiracy was discovered on the eve of its execution, and thirty of the principal conspirators were tried and executed.

In October, 1812, deputies arrived from the interior provinces to form a congress at Buenos Ayres; but differences arising between

them and the executive, the assembly was dissolved on their first session.

The remains of the army of Peru, had retired before the victorious troops of Lima, until the want of means to continue their retreat, forced them to make a stand at Tucuman. On the 24th September, 1812, an obstinate engagement took place, which, from the active co-operation of the inhabitants of Tucuman, ended in the total defeat of the royalists.

Owing to the dissentions of the government, the army of Peru was left without the means of advancing, and could not profit by their success. The discontent became general; and the party opposed to the government, siezed the opportunity to effect a revolution.

The military, so often the instrument of faction, again lent their aid, and a new executive was appointed by a cabildo abiento, or town meeting. Succors were at length sent to the army of Peru, which enabled general Belgrano to advance, and attack the royalists at Salta; in this action fought in February, 1813, the Spaniards were defeated with great loss; and Belgrano following up his victory, took Salta by assault, and captured general Tristan, with the remains of the royal army. The prisoners were released on their parole, which they immediately violated, and were again incorporated into the army of Goyeneche. This general had commanded the royal army in Peru, since the memorable invasion of la Paz; but being forced to evacuate the territory of Buenos Ayres, by the approach of the victorious army of Belgrano, he was recalled by the vice roy of Lima.

The vice royalty of La Plata, was again freed from enemies, and the deputies from the provinces and towns, once more assembled at Buenos Ayres. They assumed the title of the sovereign assembly, and conferred that of supreme executive power upon the former superior government, which was composed of three persons.* They declared the sole right of making laws to be vested in the assembly, and the executive to be responsible to them for its acts.

One of the first decrees of the sovereign assembly, manumitted the offspring of slaves born after February, 1813, and emancipated all slaves that might be brought into the territory of La Plata, after that period.

The slave holders were called upon for every third slave which were enrolled in the army of the republic; on this occasion many of the inhabitants voluntarily manumitted their slaves, upon conditions of their serving during the war; and two regiments, called liberti, were formed of them: they are officered by whites.

Commissioners were sent by the assembly into Upper Peru, to examine into, and report on, the state of those provinces and of the army.

* Pena, Perez, and Alverez, jonte.

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Towards the close of the year 1813, the arms of Buenos Ayres met with serious reverses. The general of their forces in upper Peru, was induced by false intelligence to attack the army of Lima, although advantageously posted at Vilcapugio, and was defeated with the loss of all his artillery. Being pursued by the enemy, and eager to repair his losses, he risked a second engagement at Ayuma, under the most unfavorable circumstances, in which he was again defeated, and forced to retire below Salta, with the remnant of his army.

The garison of Montevideo, had received supplies and reinforcements from Spain; and although they had been defeated in a sortie against the besieging army, it was apprehened that a junction might be effected at Santa Fe, of the victorious army of Lima, with the disposable force in Montevideo. The royal squadron having the command of the river of La Plata, rendered this movement very practicable.

The party in power seized this opportunity to strengthen the government. They represented to the assembly, that an executive of three persons could not exert the energy and despatch called for by the present perilous situation of the state; and proposed to vest the authority in one person.

This proposal was warmly discussed in the assembly; but the military declaring in favor of the change, a supreme director was appointed. The assembly was prorogued during the pleasure of the director, and a council of seven, called the permanent council of the sovereign assembly, were chosen to assist him.

The general who had commanded in Peru, was superceded, and orders given to his successor, to collect the scattered remains of that army, and to fortify himself in Tucuman; whilst they determined to direct their whole force against Montevideo. Aware of the importance attached by Great Britain to the trade of these colonies, and expecting to derive great advantages from opposing the commercial spirit of that nation, to the jealous colonial policy of Spain, they sent an agent* in London, and even willing, at that time, to secure the favourable mediation of the English court, by granting any privileges. They are said to have instructed their agent to declare, that Buenos Ayres would rather be governed by a foreign prince, than submit unconditionally to Spain.

The same policy induced them to yield to the solicitations of the English minister at Rio de Janeiro, who was desirous of adjusting the differences between Buenos Ayres and Montevideo; and had expressed a wish, that the former should acknowledge the regency of Spain, accept the constitution, and send deputies to the Cortes. Commissioners were sent with proposals to Montevideo; but the vice roy, who now contemplated the approaching fall of Buenos Ayres, and considered this measure as a proof of their weakness, refused to receive or treat with them. This result had been foreseen by the government, and great exertions had been made to fit out a squadron,

* Don Manuel Sarratea.

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which might give them the command of the river; some stout merchant vessels had been purchased, which were armed from the batteries of Buenos Ayres and Ensenada, and manned by foreigners, and this fleet, immediately on the return of the commissioners, appeared off Montevideo. This measure did not excite much alarm in that place; it was supposed that armed merchantmen would prove an easy conquest to national ships; and a squadron was immediately despatched to attack and destroy them.

The event did not justify this opinion of their superiority. To their astonishment and dismay of the garrison of Montevideo, who witnessed the action, the national squadron was entirely defeated, two only escaped into port, and the remainder fell into the hands of the patriots. The vice roy finding himself pressed by superior forces, both by land and water, now condescended to solicit a peace, which he had but a few days before rejected with contempt; but the government of Buenos Ayres retaliated his conduct towards them, and refused to receive his commissions or to open his despatches. He was soon after reduced to the necessity of treating with the general of the besieging army.

It was agreed that the government of Buenos Ayres should acknowledge the regency, and send deputies to Spain; the town of Montevideo was to be given up, the garrison to be sent to Spain; two thousand men to march out with their arms, field pieces, and ammunition; and to be encamped until the conditions were carried into execution.

Whilst this treaty was pending, disputes arose between the troops of the garrison, and the armed citizens, who were violently opposed to the capitulation.

The vice roy finding it impossible to suppress these commotions, which threatened the destruction of all parties, ordered the gates to be thrown open, and admitted the army of Buenos Ayres. The two thousand men were permitted to march out with the honors of war, and it was at first supposed that the articles of the capitulation would be adhered to. They were soon undeceived, the general of the besieging army published a proclamation, in which he declared, that having entered the town before the capitulation had been signed by either party, exposed to a ruse de guerre, and to the risk of being attacked, he considered Montevideo to have been surrendered at discretion to the arms of Buenos Ayres. The vice roy was furnished with a vessel to carry him to Spain, but the garrison consisting of six thousand men, were sent prisoners of war to Buenos Ayres. The persons and property of the inhabitants were respected.

To the honor of Buenos Ayres, they have used their victories with moderation, notwithstanding the irritation which existed between the royalists and the patriots, and that the former have frequently disgraced themselves by massacres in cold blood, and by the

* Don Carlos Alvear.

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barbarous treatment of their prisoners, the troops of Buenos Ayres have never sullied their arms by these sanguinary measures, not even in retaliation.

Montevideo had been defended with the utmost obstinacy for nearly four years, and not less than seven thousand persons perished during the siege, principally by famine and disease; the victors acquired seven thousand stand of arms; five hundred pieces of artillery, and a profusion of warlike stores. An amicable arrangement was made with the inhabitants of the eastern shore, and the troops were withdrawn in order to reinforce the army of Peru. It had been determined to destroy the fortifications of Montevideo, which are formidadable from the place, being situated on a very narrow peninsula. It may be considered the key of the river of La Plata and consequently of the whole vice royalty; and once in the possession of an enemy, particularly of a maritime power they could not expect to wrest it from them; nor could they defend it long against a regular force.

Moreover in the present unsettled state of the country, it would prove a powerful engine of faction, and the military governor of Montevideo, might dictate to the government of Buenos Ayres, or involve the country in a civil war. The artillery and stores were to have been moved to Tucuman, to which point the armies might retreat in the event of a formidable and irresistible invasion, obliging them to abandon the coast.*

The Limenean army, which had advanced as far as Salta, on receiving intelligence of the fall of Montevideo retired precipitately upon Potosi; the commanders of that army led on by the hope of forming a junction with the troops of Montevideo, and of investing Buenos Ayres, in two instances, abandoned the strong positions of Oruro and Potosi, which secured to them the possession of Peru; and advanced towards the plains of Tucuman. The first had weakened his army by leaving garrisons in the towns, and particularly in Orepera de Cochabamba, the capital of the most fertile and populous of the interior provinces.

The present commander, to avoid this fault of his predecessor, to which he attributed his defeat in Tucuman, left his rear and flank unprotected, and exposed to the attacks of the Indians and cavalry of Cochabamba, which harassed his retreat. The revolution of Chile, partook, in some degree of the distinctions which mark the character of that people.

The creoles of that kingdom, saw and rejoiced in the success of Buenos Ayres; they wished to follow, what they considered a noble example, but were restrained by their natural timidity; when the captain general, on some slight denunciation, arrested three of the principal inhabitants of Santiago, Ovalle, Roxas, and Vera.

* They neglected this precautionary measure, and this important fortress is in the hands of the Portuguese.

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Ovalle and Roxas, were sent to Lima; but Vera, a native of Santa Fe, in the vice royalty of Buenos Ayres, feigned himself sick; and from the castle of Valparaiso, where he was confined, incited the Chileans to reclaim their countrymen, and to protest against this act of oppression; which he represented, as the preclude to a general persecution of the creoles. He excited their fears to such a degree, that they gathered courage from despair, and addressed a strong remonstrance to the captain general, which alarmed him, and induced him to recall those gentlemen, whom he had accused of treasonable practices, and of forming plans to separate the colonies from the mother country.

These acts of weakness, on the one part, and of firmness on the other, decided the revolution. Encouraged by their success, the people declared themselves openly, in the hopes of freedom, even family feuds were forgotten; all the creoles of distinction in Santiago, united, deposed the captain general, and instituted a provisional government, which acknowledged and acted in the name of the authorities of Spain.

They soon however, assumed a bolder tone, and a congress was assembled, which governed in the name and behalf of Fondinand the VII.

On the 1st of April, 1811, the day appointed for the election of the members for the capital, an attempt was made by some Europeans, to restore the ancient government; an engagement took place in the principal square, which ended in the total defeat of the royalists. The captain general, and the royal audience, were implicated in this conspiracy; and in consequence, were banished the kingdom, and retired to Lima.

In the congress, party spirit soon mingled with all their debates; the provinces of Concepcion, complained that they were not fairly represented, and the affairs of the government were neglected, in the animosities and mutual accusations of the members.

The command of the artillery was in the hands of an European, who was supposed to be a partizan of the princess Charlotte, of Brazils. The creoles dreaded the power and influence of this man, and the three brothers, Carreras, resolved to make an effort to wrest from him, this important command. The eldest, who was a major in the regiment of grenadiers, had distinguished himself on the first of April, and was a great favorite with the soldiery.

They chose the hour of the siesta for the attack, and at the head of sixty grenadiers, surprized the artillery barracks, and seized the commander.

After this action, some reform was made in the representation, and the congress commenced business, by inviting all who were inimical to the present order of things, to retire from the kingdom.

They rendered the clergy inimical to the cause of independence, by forbiding them to receive any money from their parishoners, for the performance of their clerical duties; assigning a moderate salary

to the curates in lieu of fees. They passed an act manumitting the future offspring of slaves; and declared that all slaves brought into Chile, after that period, should receive their freedom, after a residence of six months. They opened the ports to commerce, and published commercial regulations.

The places of alcaldes (members of the cabildo) were, by the laws of Spain, sold to the highest bidder. They were now made elective; the first junta, or executive of Chile, was composed of seven members. The struggle for power, between the family of the Carreras, and that of the Larrains, commenced at this period, after the successful attack on the artillery barracks. The eldest brother was promoted to the colonelcy of the grenadiers, and the youngest, to that of the artillery; from the barracks of these officers a remonstrance was addressed to the congress, which induced that body to depose the junta of seven, and to appoint an executive of five. Jose Miguel Carrera, entered into the government on this occasion.

This junta did not long endure the control of a legislative body; and the congress was dissolved on the second of December, 1811. Some of the members of the executive resigned on this occasion; and a new junta was formed, consisting of three persons, J. M. Carrera, J. Pastales, J. N. Cerda. The members from the southern provinces, protested loudly against this flagrant breach of the privileges of the people; and upon their arrival in Concepcion, excited their constituents to oppose the executive of Santiago, and to take up arms in defence of their rights.

Forces were collected on both sides, and were marched to the banks of the river Maule, which separates Santiago from Concepcion. Both parties, however, preferred negotiation and intrigue, to blows. They retired without coming to action, and Concepcion being destitute of resources, was shortly after forced to submit to the capital.

Some attempts having been made by the colonel of grenadiers, to awe the executive into his measures, Jose Miguel Carrera, resigned his office in the junta, and his father was nominated to supply his place. The brothers were soon after reconciled; a constitution was framed, and offered to the people for their acceptance, and having been signed by the *military*, the cabildo, and all the respectable inhabitants, was adopted by the government. The father resigned, and J. M. Carrera was reinstated in the junta. A senate was elected, according to a provision of the constitution, and assembled in November, 1812. The first junta established in Chile, had been acknowledged by the regency; and the supply of grain was so necessary to the vice royalty of Lima, that the intercourse between these countries had not been interrupted by the late changes of government. But the dissensions which existed between the provinces of Santiago and Concepcion, enabled the vice royalty to carry into execution, a plan for the conquest of the latter.

The garrison of Valdivia, and of San Carlos de Chiloe, were still

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ed in the bay of San Vicenti, and thence marched to Talcahuano. That post was delivered up to them by some European officers in the service of Chile, and the town of Concepcion was afterwards taken without opposition. The royal forces were joined by several regiments of militia cavalry, and they soon occupied the whole of the province.

The greatest exertions were made in Santiago, to repel this invasion; the three brothers, Carreras, put themselves at the head of the forces, and the armies met on the banks of the Maule.

A body of five hundred men crossed the broad and rapid river Maule in the night, and surprised the camp of the royalists, at Yearbas Buenos. This action deterred them from crossing the river in front of such an enemy; and being baffled in an attempt to turn the flank of the patriot army, they retired towards Concepcion. The Chilians crossed the river, and overtook the royal forces at San Carlos; an obstinate engagement ensued, in which both parties claimed the victory. The royal army crossed the river Nuble, at the dawn of day, and retired to Chillan. J. M. Carrera, leaving his brother at the head of the main body, moved with a detachment towards Concepcion. The The garrison of that place retreated to Talcuhano; and that post was immediately attacked, and taken by assault. The army then laid siege to Chillan, which the royalists had strongly fortified; after spending a month before this place, the continued rains of the winter obliged the patriots to retire.

The executive junta established themselves, shortly after, at Talca; from thence they issued a decree, new modelling the army. They deprived Carrera of the command; and appointed Don. Bernardo O'Higgins, general-in-chief. The three brothers immediately withdrew from the army; the two youngest were taken prisoners by the royalists as they were returning to Santiago, and were conducted to Chillan.

The royal forces now marched towards Santiago, crossed the Maule, and occupied Talca. The Chilians followed them by rapid marches; and, crossing the Maule lower down the river, took a position to protect the capital.

This state of things, called for a more energetic government, and on the return of the executive to Santiago the junta was dissolved, and a supreme director appointed.

The royal forces continued to advance, when captain Hillyar, the commander of the British squadron in the Pacific, proffered his meditation. As it appeared that he was authorized by the vice roy of Lima, his proposals were accepted by both parties.

It was agreed that the royal forces should evacuate the territory of Chile, within two months, and that the government of Chile should acknowledge the regency, and Cortez; and send deputies to Spain to learn the decision of the mother country, to which they agreed to submit. This treaty was signed on the 5th May, 1814, and hostages exchanged by the contracting parties.

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Both parties were dissatisfied with this arrangement. The Carreras, who had been excluded from the general amnesty, and mutual liberation of prisoners agreed upon by the treaty, escaped from their confinement at Chillan. The youngest brother, Don Luis, upon his return to Santiago, was seized and imprisoned by the government; and Don J. M. Carrera, after escaping the same fate, entered the capital, at the head of some of his partizans. The troops received him with enthusiasm; the supreme director was deposed, and a junta of three established.

General O'Higgins, determined to enforce the execution of the treaty, and marched towards the capital. The armies met on the plains of Maipo, and an action was fought, which terminated in favor of the forces of the junta. The continuation of this civil war, was prevented by the unexpected news of the arrival of reinforcements from Lima, and the refusal of the vice roy to ratify the treaty. This intelligence united the armies of Chile, and they marched against the common enemy. The royalists had advanced to the river Cachapoal which separates the province of Rancaqua from San Fernando.

General O'Higgins fortified himself at Rancaqua; but was surprised by the royalists, and his forces totally routed.

This decisive action obliged the patriots to evacuate the territory of Chile. They passed the Cordilleras, and took refuge in the province of Mendoza.

In this state of affairs, intelligence of the restoration of Ferdinand the seventh, reached South America. The government of Buenos Ayres, notwithstanding they had changed the national flag and cockade, and had coined money with the arms of the republic, had always issued their decrees in the name of Ferdinand the seventh. It was resolved, therefore, to send a deputy to Spain, to proffer their allegiance, on conditions which would secure them in the free exercise and enjoyment of their rights; and hopes were entertained that the present administration would adopt a conciliatory policy towards the colonies, in oposition to the violent measure of the regency. These hopes were disappointed; and their agent returned to Buenos Ayres, without effecting his object.

The capture of Montevideo, had put into their hands a valuable armament, and abundant warlike stores; and the ships, wich had contributed so materially to their success, were now employed to harrass the commerce of Spain. Some of their cruizers doubled Cape Horn, while others proceeded to intercept the return of Spanish ships, off the port of Cadiz.

Don Carlos Alvear, who had commanded the forces of Buenos Ayres, at the capitulation of Montevideo, ambitious to conclude the war in Peru induced the supreme director to appoint him general in chief of that army, and left Buenos Ayres at the head of a large reinforcement. On the road, he was met by the unpleasant intelligence that the officers and troops refused to receive him as their commander; and he returned with his forces to Buenos Ayres. The supreme

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director was glad to resign his title to one, who had, for some time excercised the chief authority. Alvear was in consequence proclaimed supreme director in Buenos Ayres; but not being acknowledged in the provinces, or by the army of Peru, the greatest confusion prevailed in the state.

After the conquest of Montevideo, the government of Buenos Ayres concluded a treaty with Artigas; but upon their afterwards sending him a commission, he returned it, telling them that he desired his authority from the free election of the people of the eartern shore. That the inhabitants of that province were willing to be the allies, but would never submit to be the vassals of Buenos Ayres.

The troops which were sent to reduce him to subjection, not only failed in their object, but were forced to abandon Montevideo. Artigas, after driving the forces of Buenos Ayres from the eastern shore, crossed the Parana, and took possession of Santa Fe; two thousand men were despatched to recover this important post; but the officers came to an understanding with Artigas, and turned their arms against the supreme director. Under these circumstances, and threatened by a revolt of the citizens, Alvear withdrew his forces from Buenos Ayres, and encamped at a short distance from the city. A town meeting was immediately assembled, which deposed both the supreme director and the sovereign assembly, and vested the authority in the cabildo. The city was placed in a state of defence, but Alvea, after some threats, resigned his command, and with his family, took refuge on board a British frigate then stationed in the river.

The cabildo then appointed a junta, of observation, published a new constitution, and elected Rondeau, the general of the army of Peru, supreme director. This officer, who had formerly refused to resign his command to Alvear, preferred remaining at the head of the army, and a supreme director pro. tem. was nominated until he should think proper to assume his command; another attempt was made to dispossess Artigas of Santa Fe, but the troops of Buenos Ayres, were defeated with great loss. General Pezuela, who had fortified himself in Oruro, having received reinforcements from Lima, attacked the army of Peru on the 22d of November, 1815, at Sipesipi and after an obstinate engagement, the patriots were forced to retire.

The army of Buenos Ayres retreated to Salta, and the royal forces remained in possession of all the upper provinces of Peru. The people were displeased with the administration of the supreme director, substitute, and assembling tumultuously, they forced him to resign the command; another was appointed, who was soon after treated in the same manner, and the government was then placed in the hands of a committee of safety.

The congress, which had been convoked according to a provision in the last estatuto, assembled in June, 1816, at Tucuman. They nominated Don Juan Martin Puyrredon, supreme director; who immediately repaired to Buenos Ayres, and assumed the reins of government. Don Manuel Belgrano, who, since the battle of Velca-

puglo, had remained in retirement, resumed the command of the army of Peru. The troops received with enthusiasm the general who had so often led them to victory; who had generously distributed to the widows and orphans of those soldiers who had fallen in the battle of Salta, the money voted to him by the government of Buenos Ayres, as a reward for that distinguished service; and who had preserved his political integrity amidst the changes of party, and the intrigues of faction; and had manifested no other ambition than that of devoting his life and fortune to the great cause in which he was engaged.

An army was assembled at Mendoza, to protect that frontier against the royal army, which was in possession of Chile; and the command of this force entrusted to San Martin, who had distinguished himself by repulsing, with a small corps of cavalry, a detachment of the royal forces at San Lorenzo, on the Parana.

On the 9th of July, 1816, the congress published their formal declaration of independence. In December following, the Portuguese troops entered the territory of the eastern shore, which is claimed by that government. The invading amy, after occupying the towns on the frontiers, took possession of Maldonado, and advanced upon Montevideo. This important military post was surrendered to them without opposition.

Artigas, with the desultory forces under his command, opposed in vain the progress of the invaders; but still continued to harass them by every means in his power.

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